

BOXING

Technical knockout

JAMES "Bonescrusher" Smith, a late substitute for Tony Tubbs, won the World Boxing Association heavyweight title early on Saturday morning with a technical knockout of Tim Witherpoon after two minutes and 12 seconds of the first round at Madison Square Garden, New York. Smith's aggressive start saw Witherpoon, who had been the clear favourite, knocked down three times after a series of hard rights. As New York State allows only three knock-downs, the fight had to be stopped.

Witherspoon seemed neither physically nor mentally prepared for fighting a big, heavy puncher like Smith and his only answer to the first powerful right that staggered him was to try to tie his opponent up inside. But Smith pushed him away and knocked him down.

Witherspoon, spitting out a bloody tooth, got up but never recovered from that first assault. His easy win on points over Smith last year seemed to have made him over-confident and uneasy for a

very different opponent, one in much better physical and mental condition and much more self-assured after a series of wins this year.

Smith will now meet Mike Tyson, the World Boxing Council champion, in Las Vegas on March 7. As both fighters are heavy punchers, it promises to be a battle for survival. But Tyson, who was at the ringside on Saturday, will be an overwhelming favourite because of his unbeaten record and his recent one-sided win over Trevor Berbick in taking the WBC title.

Witherspoon seemed mentally worn out by his pre-flight wrangles with promoter Don King over his purse and the fact that he had not been consulted about the change of opponent after Tubbs dropped out. There were threats of court action before the matter was resolved.

These dramas completely overshadowed another world title bout. Julio Cesar Chavez retained his WBC junior lightweight title with a unanimous 12-round decision over Juan LaPorta.

CRICKET

Openers dominate Test

FOR the third Test in succession a big opening innings dominated the Australia/England match. In the first Test England went on to force Australia to follow-on and eventually won. In the second Australia avoided the follow-on and the match ended in a draw.

At Adelaide the initiative was, for a change, with the Australians after they had hit 514 for five declared after winning the toss. England, without the injured Ian Botham, responded in kind on an excellent batting strip to reach 349 for five on the third day, thus avoiding the follow-on comfortably but placing the odds on another drawn match. This was strengthened when England went on to reach 455 on the fourth day, then had Australia at 82 for three, a lead of 141.

The fifth day petered out into the expected draw with Australia declaring their second innings at 201-3 at tea, with Border batting impeccably to record his seventh Test century against England. This left England with 261 to get in only two hours. There were

minor fitters when Athey was out and then Gating was bowled first ball, but Broad and Lamb played out the remaining overs comfortably enough; England finishing at 39 for two.

There were plenty of critics of the Australian tactics after the second day, many of them home-grown. On such a comparatively tame pitch, it was said, they should have scored quicker and declared sooner to put the maximum pressure on the English. As it was they made only 207 for two on the opening day, led by a century from Boon, who thus ended a bleak spell. They should have taken more advantage of some loose bowling from the England pacemen. Drizzle cut the day slightly, but the Australian batting pace wasn't exactly compelling at other times, Marsh taking three hours and a quarter over his painstaking 43. This brought to 27 hours and 48 minutes the time he has occupied the crease against England so far in the series, during which he has scored at the rate of 16 and one half runs per

hour. Boon was content, however, and Australia no doubt felt that the pace could be stepped up on the second day.

Boon had taken five hours over his 103 and Jones took almost as long over his 93, most of it scored on the second day. Border, the captain, raised the pace slightly in his 70, but the fastest man was Waugh, who hit a masterly 79 at faster than average. That, however, only raised the rate to about three an over by the time Border declared at 514 for five. Border had in the previous Test criticised the English for caution in not declaring their second innings earlier, but this time he, too, was overcome by caution, leaving only 40 minutes of the second day to try to wrinkle out some English wickets. They failed. Broad and Athey comfortably seeing out the day at 29 without loss.

England's initial target on the third day was to avoid the follow-on, at 315, then build patiently for the draw, leaving them still one up in the series. This they did at a fractionally faster rate than the Australians to be 349 for five at the close. Athey was the first out at 55, having shared a century opening stand with Broad. Gating, the captain, and Broad then went on to individual centuries.

Earlier in the week Gating had been severely reprimanded by the English management for failing to turn up in time for the opening of their game against Victoria. Gating had overslept, much to his personal embarrassment. Gating effectively had the last word by leading his men to victory in Victoria for the first time in 24 years, by five wickets with 17 balls left.

At one stage England had looked capable of winning in a day and a half. After dismissing Victoria for 101 in their first innings, England responded with 263. But Victoria were more stubborn in their second innings, hitting 345, of which Hibbert had 91 in six hours. England made halting progress, but they eventually reached 184 for five at a run a minute. More important, in the context of the third Test, Whitaker made up for his first innings duck by hitting 48, the leading England score and won selection in place of the injured Botham for the Test.

Alan Dunn's DIARY

at present with 24 three-day games. There will also be an end to the quarter final stage of the knockout Benson and Hedges Trophy, in which the Combined Universities side will be chosen from all British universities, not just Oxford and Cambridge.

Meanwhile, Geoff Boycott, the former Yorkshire and England opening batsman, has confirmed his retirement from first-class cricket. He had been offered a two-year contract by Derbyshire, but there was objection to him playing for another county while still on the committee at his native Yorkshire.

Downhill racer

WORLD skiing lost one of its personalities for the rest of the season last week almost before the racing has begun. Bill Johnson, the American Olympic downhill champion, was taken home after shattering his left knee and breaking his right shoulder in a fall while practising for the weekend's racing at Val Gardena, Italy.

Last season another American, Craig Soubrier, broke his neck in training on the same section of the course, the notorious Camel Pass bumps. In the racing Canadians won both the men's and women's events. Rob Boyd won at Val Gardena, while Laura Graham won a run of four successive World Cup victories for the Swiss by taking the Val d'Isère event.

Record dog

GREYHOUND racing had an extra special week when Ballyregan Bob set a world record of 32 consecutive wins. He did it before the world's television cameras at Hove, winning by nine and a quarter lengths from five other top-class greyhounds at odds of 5-1 on. He overtook the record held by an American greyhound, Joe Dump, set in 1978-79. Ballyregan's owner, Cliff Kevren, who bought him as a pup for £1,500, says that the dog will now go to stud.

Lendl's Mastery

IVAN LENDL made sure of being confirmed as the lawn tennis world champion for the second time last week by winning the Masters in New York for the fourth time. In the final he beat Boris Becker in three sets, all 6-4. It was the start of a bad week for Becker, for he was later beaten 2-6, 6-4, 6-7 by

the Russian, Andrei Chesnokov, in one of the round robin matches of the Young Masters tournament in Stuttgart. But Becker went on to win the tournament, beating Sweden's Jonas Svensson 7-6, 7-6, 6-3 in the final. Two of Svensson's compatriots, Stefan Edberg and Anders Jarryd, successfully defended their Masters doubles title in London at the weekend. In the final they beat Guy Forget and Yannick Noah, of France, 6-3, 7-6, 6-3.

EEC Games

A NEW concept for a multi-sport games, designed to avoid the massive costs of putting everything into one city, was launched in London last week. The European Economic Community Games, embracing 24 sports in a dozen cities around the Community, are planned for 1989. The unifying feature will be television, with the anticipated cost of 26 million being met by a dozen sponsors. Each of the 12 games centres will stage two sports. Nine sponsors have already signalled interest.

YACHTING

NY boat eliminated

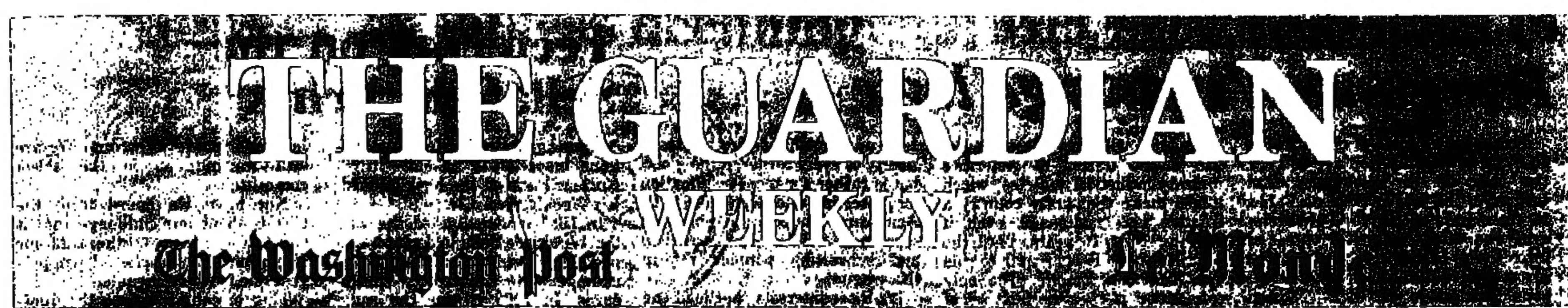
YACHTING history was made on Gage Roads on Sunday when New Zealand crossed the finishing line in her race 15 seconds ahead of the New York Yacht Club's America II. That defeat eliminated America II from the Challenger semi-finals and leaving the NYYC out of the America's Cup for the first time in the competition's 135-year history.

Britain's hopes of making the semi-finals subsided two days earlier when White Crusader lost to New Zealand and the fourth place in the semi-finals was left to be fought out between John Kolius in the America II and Tom Blackaller in the St. Francis Yacht Club's USA. The crunch matches came on Sunday when Blackaller, faced Marc Pajot in French Kiss, and Kolius took on the Kiwis.

The wind was light and shifty, and promised unpredictability. America II led at the first mark by the simple expedient of going way out on the right wing and picking up the seabeat first. The easterly on which the course had been set was to give way to a 'Sou/Sou' westerly and it was on this that Kolius came romping into the first mark, with sheets cracked, to lead by 21 seconds.

Kolius was not finished yet. He made Chris Dickson and his crew fight all the way. But a New Zealand victory was assured as Dickson concentrated on covering his opponent all the way to the line.

French Kiss led USA up the first leg, but Blackaller took his radically-designed boat to the front on the run. He gained on each leg thereafter. The four yachts going into the Challenger semi-finals starting on December 28 are: New Zealand (Chris Dickson) representing the Royal New Zealand Yacht Squadron, Stars and Stripes (Dennis Conner) representing the San Diego Yacht Club, USA (Tom Blackaller) representing the St. Francis Yacht Club, and French Kiss (Marc Pajot) representing the Societe des Regates Rochelaises.



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Freed Sakharov hopes to resume work in Moscow

By Martin Walker in Moscow



Dr Andrei Sakharov.

DR ANDREI SAKHAROV, the best-known dissident still remaining in the Soviet Union, was freed from his seven years of internal exile this week, while Pravda published a blistering personal attack on the man who put him there, the former Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev. Dr Sakharov was given the news in a telephone call from the Russian leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

The announcement seemed to have been timed to distract world attention from the anti-Russian riots in the traditionally Muslim republic of Kazakhstan. Dr Sakharov's freedom to return to his home in Moscow, with his wife, Yelena Bonner, is also an attempt to resolve the last of the notorious human rights abuses still capable of provoking public outrage in the West.

When I asked him in a telephone interview whether there would be any restriction on his activities in Moscow he said: "When we come we shall see. We shall have to find out when we arrive how things will be."

Asked whether he would be able to see Western correspondents once in Moscow, Dr Sakharov replied: "Again, we shall have to see. We have got out of the habit of seeing people. Literally, we have not seen anyone except for the postman or people in the shops, and we have talked to no one."

His first call in Moscow would be on the Academy of Sciences, to discuss arrangements for him to resume his scientific work, he said. He plans to return to his post at the Lebedev Physics Institute.

"I intend to continue working at the institute to study and do research and perhaps to teach. While in Gorky, I had been doing some research, or rather I tried to do something. This is very important for me."

"My own health is reasonable, more or less, considering my age and recent experiences," he said. "But my wife is feeling much worse than I do. Since the beginning of December, she has not been out of the house. She has pains in her legs and some heart pain."

He confirmed that he had "a long and very interesting conversation" with the Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev on the day after a telephone was installed in the small flat in the closed city of Gorky where he had been exiled since 1980, after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

KGB officials arrived last week to install a telephone. It was the first time he had been allowed a private line since his arrival in Gorky.

When Mr Gorbachev rang, they discussed human rights, said Dr Sakharov, adding that he said to the Soviet leader: "I beg you to consider once again the release of

all prisoners of conscience. This would be to carry out justice. It is very important for you, for the Soviet Union, for international opinion, and for the success of all your efforts."

Mr Gorbachev's reply was non-committal, Dr Sakharov said.

They discussed the death in prison last month of the dissident writer, Anatoly Marchenko. "He would have been the first name on

my list," Dr Sakharov told Mr Gorbachev.

Dr Sakharov then said that in his view, all those convicted under these laws which forbid "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" had been convicted and imprisoned unjustly. "I cannot agree with you," Mr Gorbachev replied.

Dr Sakharov's freedom from exile follows the permission for the dissident poet, Irini Ratushinskaya, to fly to Britain last week after four years in prison. Earlier this year, the leading Jewish human rights campaigner, Anatoly Shcharansky, and Yuri Orlov, founder of the Helsinki monitoring group, were freed from prison and allowed to go to the West.

Last month the veteran Soviet dissident, Anatoly Marchenko, died in prison, where he had spent more than 20 of his 48 years. The household names of the human rights movement are now dead, in exile in the West, or free to live and work in the Soviet Union. It remains to be seen whether the West's human rights campaigners can mobilise the same outrage for the lesser known figures who remain incarcerated, or waiting endlessly for their exit visas.

It may be significant that Dr Sakharov's freedom was announced while the Politburo's most prominent hardliner, Yegor Ligachev, was still out of the

country as guest of honour at the Vietnamese Communist Party congress in Hanoi.

Of perhaps equal significance was the apolitical reaction in the West to the Soviet Union's celebration of UN Human Rights Day with a public warning that Dr Sakharov had got off lightly, and could have faced much more severe criminal charges. That statement by the veteran deputy chief of the supreme court, Viktor Gusev, provoked the most anti-Soviet headlines that Mr Gorbachev had seen since he took office. He is said to have been appalled at the public relations disaster it produced.

Soviet officials speaking privately claimed that Mr Gorbachev believed he was still carrying the can for decisions taken by his predecessors. They pointed to the critical article on Mr Brezhnev in Pravda as a sign of his anger.

The article, to commemorate Mr Brezhnev's 80th birthday would normally have praised his achievements. Instead it condemned Brezhnev's lack of consistent democracy, his failure to encourage public criticism or to accept self-criticism.

It was by no means an apology to those like Dr Sakharov who suffered for their criticism of the Soviet Union under Mr Brezhnev. But it was a significant statement of regret, to mark the day of Dr Sakharov's release from exile.

Gorbachev's new broom keeps on sweeping

THE release of Dr Andrei Sakharov, the most famous Soviet dissident, and his equally long-suffering wife, Yelena Bonner, is a dazzling climax to a momentous week in Soviet affairs. Seen alongside the bitter denunciation of Leonid Brezhnev in Pravda, the riots in Kazakhstan and the threat to resume nuclear tests, the return of the Sakharovs to Moscow is powerful evidence of Mr Gorbachev's determination to transform the Soviet Union. When he came to power there was doubt of his determination and his ability to achieve real reform. He is now embroiled in a struggle of enormous complexity on two fronts, a fact which attests to the magnitude of his self-imposed task as well as to his energy and confidence.

On the external front, he showed at Reykjavik how far he is prepared to go towards arms limitation — given American flexibility on Star Wars. His earlier, unilateral moratorium on tests gave Moscow a rare propaganda advantage in this "peace offensive". Even the threat to resume tests remains contingent on a US decision to continue with theirs. At the same time such a threat may be seen as a signal, or possibly a surrender, to the military: Mr Gorbachev is not going to risk Soviet security if the Americans make no concession in response to his own. This still leaves Washington to do the explaining if Soviet tests resume.

The Washington Post

ANDREI SAKHAROV and his wife, Yelena Bonner, have become symbols of individual resistance to Soviet repression, and their return from internal exile to Moscow is cause for rejoicing. Dr Sakharov was never accused of, let alone tried for, any crime. His wife was set up for exercising rights guaranteed by Soviet law. They were treated in what was, even by Soviet standards, a dirty way: to convince outsiders that they were doing all right, for instance, the government invaded their communications and Dr Sakharov's medical sessions. But they were not doing all right: at the best of times, they were undergoing terrible harassment and privation. Yet they were never broken. They maintained their dignity and also an extraordinary relationship with each other.

It was thuggishness and a characteristic lack of political imagination that led Leonid Brezhnev to exile the Sakharovs — to get

What is not yet clear is whether he is going to get away with it.

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Despite the static on the East-West line since Reykjavik, to say nothing of Washington's self-absorbed descent into scandal, there are hints from US sources that the way to a major arms deal is far from closed and that pleasant surprises should not be ruled out. Perhaps Mr Reagan now needs a spectacular success in this area just as much as Mr Gorbachev — in each case to divert attention from domestic issues.

Striding the external and internal fronts is the question of human rights. The release of dissidents shows Mr Gorbachev shedding a burden he would prefer not to have to carry into every conference chamber. It is an easier one to dump than Afghanistan, where the military again have

a direct interest. And when Pravda blames the Brezhnev era for over-reaction to dissidents, their piecemeal release becomes a useful symbol of the intent to make a new start. A much riskier assault on the Brezhnev legacy is the dismissal of the late leader's last cronies in the Politburo. As Mr Kuznetsov was also party leader (and a native son of Kazakhstan) and was replaced by a Russian national, the Kazakhs ran riot in their capital of Alma Ata, raising seldom-mentioned spectres of nationalism and Muslim revivalism. Almost as startling as the unrest is the fact that it was reported prominently by the Soviet media while it was still going on, the most remarkable demonstration so far of the new openness after Chernobyl. (Report, page 7.)

All this relates directly to the attack on inefficiency and bureaucracy, and on the economic backwardness which is their most glaring and enduring product. An important link between this domestic house-cleaning and the peace offensive is that if the latter succeeds, vast sums would be released to the decisive benefit of the former. If the West is looking for a test of sincerity on arms, it should consider the evidence of resolve offered by the risks Mr Gorbachev is taking at home. It would be tragic if the West's present political disarray prevented it from seizing what looks increasingly like an historic opportunity. There is no need to abandon caution, or even risk loss of face, to test Mr Gorbachev's good faith: all that is required is to meet him halfway by suspending nuclear tests. Let him have his positive signal: it is the only way to catch up with the moral lead he still holds on disarmament, now reinforced by the removal of that perennial obstacle to East-West understanding symbolised by the name of Sakharov.

Dissident poet freed, page 10

TODAY LEAGUE: First Division: Aston Villa 3, Manchester United 3; Luton 1, Everton 0; Manchester City 3, West Ham 1; Newcastle 3, Nottingham Forest 2; Norwich 1, Arsenal 1; QPR 0, Charlton 0; Tottenham 2, Watford 1; Wrexham 0, 3, Sheffield Wednesday 0, Portsmouth 0; Southampton v. Coventry, Played Sunday; Luton v. City 2, Oxford Utd 0; Liverpool 3, Chelsea 0. Leading positions: 1. Arsenal (p18, p33); 2. Nottingham (p18, p33); 3. Liverpool (p18, p33).
Second Division: Crystal Palace 6, Hull 1; Gillingham 1, Stoke 1; Leeds 3, Brighton 1; Millwall 4, Huddersfield 0; Plymouth 1, Derby 1; Reading 1, Ipswich 4; Shrewsbury 0, Portsmouth 0; Shrewsbury 1, Birmingham 0. Portsmouth: Blackburn v. Dundee, Played Friday; Bradford 1, West Bromwich 3. Leading positions: 1. Oldham Athletic (p18, p33); 2. Portsmouth (p18, p33); 3. Plymouth (p18, p33).
Third Division: Blackpool 1, Bury 1; Bolton 3, Gillingham 0; Grimsby 3, Carlisle 2; Fulham 1, Mansfield 1; Middlesbrough 1, Doncaster 0; Notts County 5, York 1; Rotherham 4, Bournemouth 2; Watford 4, Darlington 2; Wigan 1, Bradford 1. Played Sunday; Bristol Rovers 2, Newport 1; Swindon 1, Bristol City 2; Port Vale 2, Chester 1. Leading positions: 1. Middlesbrough (p18, p33); 2. Gillingham (p18, p33); 3. Notts County (p18, p33).
Fourth Division: Cardiff 2, Aldershot 0; Colchester 1, Preston 2; Crewe 1, Torquay 0; Exeter 1, Truro 0; Hartlepool 0, Northampton 1; Haverhill 2, Cambridge Utd 3; Lincoln 4, Swindon 0; Northampton 2, Wrexham 3; Orient 2, Burnley 0; Peterborough 0, Hales 0; Rochdale 1, Scunthorpe 1; Southend 0, Stockport 0. Leading positions: 1. Northampton (p18, p33); 2. Swindon (p18, p33); 3. Orient (p18, p33).
SCOTTISH FA CUP — First Round: Forth Macdonalds 0, Berwick 1. First Round Replay: Alloa 0, Inverness Caledonia 1.
FIVE FAIR SCOTTISH LEAGUE — Premier Division: Aberdeen 1, Hibernian 0; Clydebank 1, Dundee Utd 2; Dundee 6, St. Mirren 5; Hearts 7, Hamilton 0. Leading positions: 1. Celtic 1; Rangers 4; Falkirk 0. Leading positions: 1. Celtic (p24, p33); 2. Dundee Utd (p24, p33); 3. Hearts (p24, p33).
Queen of the South 1, Dunfermline 1, Dumbarton 2, Forth 1, Partick 2, Kilmarnock 2, Morton 0; Montrose 2, East Fife 1. Leading positions: 1. Dunfermline (p24, p33); 2. Dumbarton (p24, p33); 3. Morton (p24, p33).
Second Division: Ayr 1, Cowdenbeath 3; East Stirling 4, Meadowbank 4; Raith 1, St. Johnstone 1; Stenhousemuir 2, Queen's Park 2; Strath 2; Arbroath 2; Stranraer 1; Albion 0. Leading positions: 1. Raith (p24, p33); 2. Meadowbank (p18, p33); 3. Stirling Albion (p18, p33).
Fourth Division: Cardiff 2, Aldershot 0; Colchester 1, Preston 2; Crewe 1, Torquay 0; Exeter 1, Truro 0; Hartlepool 0, Northampton 1; Haverhill 2, Cambridge Utd 3; Lincoln 4, Swindon 0; Northampton 2, Wrexham 3; Orient 2, Burnley 0; Peterborough 0, Hales 0; Rochdale 1, Scunthorpe 1; Southend 0, Stockport 0. Leading positions: 1. Northampton (p18, p33); 2. Swindon (p18, p33); 3. Orient (p18, p33).

Reaganism's strange logic . . .

If current reports of the growing scandal in Washington are correct, the logic of the calculation that underlies the fiasco is inescapable: in the minds of North, Poindexter and the other culprits, three or four living American ex-hostages are worth thousands of dead Iraqis plus thousands of dead Nicaraguans.

What kind of barter is this that exchanges the lives of a handful of Americans for weapons of death that will surely be used to destroy tens of thousands of non-Americans? If these bizarre, macabre deals were inspired by a "humane impulse" then God save humanity.

What is most astonishing is that, amid all the glamour and recrimination, Reagan, Buchanan and friends continue to believe that they are themselves misunderstood arbiters of peace and freedom to the non-American world, as is evident when they extol the virtues of Colonel North as a new "American hero".

Such arrogance underpins the American black-and-white view of the world, a world that to them exists for American use, in which the Pacific is "America's Pond", Latin America is the "strategic underbelly" of the States, and Central America is their "backyard". It is this set of values that makes the United States now so unpredictable and incomprehensible.

The sooner Reagan, his baloney and his cronies bite the dust in this cowboy-fashion, the sooner this collective national concert will be deflated down toward a more realistic scale of values. No amount of scandal will turn America into a benign force on the planet; let us hope, however, that

"Irangate" will lead a lessening of the macho flexing of America's military-industrial muscles, which might make that crazy country a fraction less malignant, even if only for 5 or 10 years, until the next Nixon or Reagan gets to rule the American Empire. The only consolation is that the next set of lunatics will be bound, after some time, to fall foul, as they step even beyond their own warped mentality — we will then be treated to another spectacle on the scale of this current, amazing imbroglio.

M. Poldane,
Bondi,
Sydney.

Alex Brummer overstepped the bounds of his generally admirable circumspection (Dec. 7) by trying to equate Reagan's Iranian imbroglio with past presidential trauma, as all arising out of an abiding American belief in something called "democracy". Are we to attribute selling sophisticated weapons to a fanatical and warring theocracy, and financing a war against a tiny country whose support equal to or greater than most of those aided by US foreign policy, all of which was carried out beyond the gaze of the elected representatives of the American people themselves, simply to an over-eager attempt to achieve "moral goals", guided by "the love of democracy"?

We've got to separate the simple-minded pronouncements of grandpa Reagan and his pichmen from the perverse worldview which motivates their actions. Their manichean vision of "democracy" vs "communism" does not flow

from any genuine desire to extend liberty to every corner of the globe, but is rather a cynical justification for protecting what they take to be American interests by backing repression (Chile, South Africa) and subverting popular reform (Nicaragua).

It's those interests that lead the Norths and Poindexters and Regans to consciously undermine the foundations of the "City on a Hill".

Bar 500

In your report (Dec. 21) of the death of Anatoly Marchenko in Chistopol labour camp in the USSR, Martin Walker states that Marchenko was one of the last well-known inmates of the Soviet prison camp system.

Amnesty International has detailed case histories of more than 600 prisoners of conscience in the USSR, seven of whom are imprisoned in Chistopol. Anatoly Marchenko is the second political dissident to die in that camp in the past three months, and many of the prisoners known to us are suffering from serious illness. Irina Ratushinskaya, the poetess released the day before the Reykjavik summit, was completely unknown outside human rights circles 18 months ago. The challenge facing us is to ensure that all prisoners of conscience receive publicity, and accelerate the pressure for their release.

Janet Johnstone,
Amnesty International,
London EC1.

Don't let Reykjavik initiative slip by

The US's European allies are uncomfortable that Reagan and Gorbachev nearly agreed, at Reykjavik, to remove all intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe. The Europeans are mistaken — they should be glad to see them go, as a first step in removing all nuclear weapons from Europe. It will be a shame if this initiative gets lost in the furore about Iran.

The missiles are seen as a way of linking the US to the defence of Europe. As Russia's ability to attack the US grew in the 1970's, European leaders feared that the

US would not respond to a Soviet invasion of Europe with its US-based nuclear arms, out of concern for our own population.

The installation in Europe of US Pershing and Cruise missiles, which Europe requested, eased European fears. It would be difficult to avoid using these weapons if Europe were attacked; and their range is such that they would fall directly on Russia. So Russia could hardly fail to respond, attacking the US directly.

There was also an element of wishful thinking. The Europeans found the thought of nuclear war

involving Europe, Russia, and the US so unthinkable that they wrongly concluded that this made it unlikely. They want to make it plain that nuclear weapons will be used early, and that the war will involve both Russia and the US, thus linking our fate to theirs and keeping war as unthinkable as possible.

There are seemingly respectable arguments for this posture. The Europeans do not want the US to contemplate a limited nuclear war in Europe. Also, they argue, nuclear weapons will be used sooner or later during any European war, and will involve both the US and Russia. Thus it ought to be clear that they will be used early, and widely, removing any lingering doubts a potential aggressor might have. If the world cannot be made safe for conventional war, it is better if we do not pretend that it can be.

This view is mistaken, since the presence of nuclear weapons is itself conducive to conflict. The weapons are so destructive that there is a big advantage to using them promptly. Thus, in any crisis, there will have to be a delegation of authority to field commanders, and the weapons will quickly pass out of civilian control. A minor incident, a sort of a shoving match between Russian and Allied forces, could thus ignite a conflagration.

Richard Lynn,
Millwood, NY.

Teetering on the Sellafield brink

Once again the Nuclear Installations Inspectorate has let British Nuclear Fuels off the hook (Guardian Weekly, Dec. 21).

In 1981 it investigated the way the Windscale/Sellafield plant was run, its report was scathing about management and safety procedures. In 1983 it was the same story, and now we hear it once again. This time, however, the Inspectorate has at least begun to talk of closure, even if it is only temporary.

However, what the Inspectorate should have demanded is that the Sellafield reprocessing plant be shut permanently. Greenpeace has insisted on this not merely as a response to sloppy management practice or an appalling safety record, but because there is no need for reprocessing to take place.

Last year Greenpeace through its consultants, Large and Associates, submitted evidence to the Commons select committee on the environment, when it was considering the problems of nuclear waste. This showed that there was no need to reprocess spent fuel and that it could be dry-stored instead.

Lord Marshall, chairman of the Central Electricity Generating Board, said on television at the time of the committee's report that

he would prove us wrong. We are still waiting, as is the select committee.

Nor have we heard from the CEBG about our challenge that it substantiate the assertion that our four-year nuclear close-down programme is impracticable.

This, of course, leaves the question of why BNF continues to see its future in reprocessing. The answer is, the money received from West Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Spain and Japan, all of whom are delighted to send their spent fuel to our country for reprocessing.

Ask BNF how much low-level, intermediate, or high-level waste it has returned to these countries, and the answer will be none. It has either been dumped in the sea, buried at Drigg, or is stored awaiting further treatment and the answer to the problems of disposal.

Public opposition to this situation is growing; sooner or later the Government will have to realise that the British people are more concerned about their environment than about scrabbling for every year.

George Pritchard,
Greenpeace,
London N1.

How the PM seems to be talking herself out of a job

I am sure I'm not alone in finding Mrs Thatcher's use of the adjective "party-political" as a term of gentle or not so gentle abuse surprising. She is, after all, a party politician.

The burden of her message in her ITN interview with Peter Sissons (Dec. 9) was that matters like defence and law and order were in some way deeper than party politics and more important than them. This is indeed strange, because politics and, since the early 18th century, party politics has been the major method by which policy has been arrived at in our democracy.

It is true that there is almost total consensus that we should be defended and that there should be law and order, but this does not for a minute mean that there is consensus about how these things can be achieved. Conflicts about the means by which social goals

can be actualised can only be resolved politically, and therefore these matters cannot be above, beyond, or deeper than party politics.

It is interesting that the French word *politique* means policy, thus perhaps preventing a distinction without a difference.

What is the Prime Minister talking about? Does she intend, rather than posing herself out of a job, to talk herself out of one?

Ian Griffiths,
Killarney Road,
London SW18.

Mrs Thatcher's declared faith in the integrity of President Reagan is hardly surprising in view of her record of faith in the integrity of her own appointees before and after they have proved completely unworthy of it.

Eric A. Rose,
London W5.

Ankara's backward glance

Turkey is now to be President of the Council of Europe and can be seen holding elections of various kinds; reports of that country has therefore sometimes given the impression that conditions have "normalised" there: an impression that is partly true. Nevertheless, it is still easy for people to be goaded on charges that would be inconceivable in most democratic countries.

Hall Berkay is a Turkish historian doing a doctorate at Birmingham University, who is active in Ankara in trying to set up a Socialist Party. For doing nothing more than participate in a public meeting to this end, he, with others, has been arrested and will be tried under Turkey's catch-all

Article 142, which regards such activities as tantamount to stirring insurrection.

We have come to know Hall very well as a fellow historian and friend. He is not only of considerable standing intellectually, but a very generous-minded individual whom any institution such as ours should be glad to receive as a member. Why should a country that proclaims its reform commitment to the democratic process feel the need to give the impression to the world that it is still a repressive semi-military regime.

Chris Wickham,
Rodney Hilton,
Department of Medieval History,
University of Birmingham.

Buttering up the roaches

A. Wood (Letters, Dec. 7) proposes a buttered jar as solution to the cockroach problem. My own ship, serving in the Mediterranean, was thickly infested. Unable to stay long enough in port for delousing, we introduced North African spiders on board. These

speedily ate all the cockroaches but multiplied fast. After two weeks the spiders put the ship out of action by webbing down the guns. At my suggestion chameleons were flown in. These effectively ate the spiders, allowing the guns to be freed. Chameleons

proved excellent fried on toast with a knob of butter. Either way, Mr Wood's or mine) butter is essential and cockroaches ultimately edible after processing described.

Graham Bluns,
London NW5.

Number of jobless declining

CHRISTMAS brought with it the cheering prospect that unemployment may, at long last, be declining. The dole queue has now shortened for four consecutive months — the first time this has happened since Mrs Thatcher took office in 1979 — which encouraged Whitehall to claim that the trend was now "firmly downwards".

The number out of work in November fell by 29,387 to a total of 3.2 million. Even after allowing for seasonal factors, it now looks as if the total really has declined by about 77,000 since the middle of the year. One reason is that the growth in the labour force is slowing down. Another is that special employment measures, which do not necessarily result in real, permanent jobs, are also taking more people out of the dole queue.

Even if the trend at the moment is downward, there is no guarantee that it will continue that way. Redundancies in manufacturing industry continue with depressing regularity — British Telecom alone is planning to shed 24,000 jobs over the next four years — and more will inevitably be lost as a result of the Government's decision to buy the American Awaacs airborne early warning system in preference to the home-grown Nimrod.

This decision ran into furious objections which were not confined to the parliamentary Opposition, but Ministers contrived to avoid a Commons debate on the subject by delaying the announcement until the House was about to adjourn for the Christmas recess.

By opting for the attractive Boeing offer — to spend £130 in Britain for every £100 it earns from the sale of Awaacs — the Government may, however, actually be contravening its own rules. Boeing has confirmed that, under the US Export Administration Act, any contracts placed in Britain would be under control of the US Department of Commerce. But the Attorney-General, Sir Michael Havers, ruled three years ago that this piece of American legislation is an infringement of British sovereignty and that British firms should not accept contracts governed by it.

The pre-Christmas warning by the Bank of England about the dangers inherent in the growth of easy personal credit was echoed by the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Cooperation and

Development (OECD), which said that Britain's money supply was expanding far too rapidly and that spending overruns now posed "major problems" for the next budget. The organisation predicted that the budget would offer little scope for the kind of tax cuts Mrs Thatcher has been promising since 1979 and which are widely expected in this next, pre-election budget.

The Treasury can, of course, still pull in money from the sale of state assets such as British Airways and the nation's water undertakings. It will not, however, earn anything from the sale of Rolls-Royce, which is to be put up for sale in the spring. On the contrary it — or rather, the taxpayers — will be writing off more than £600 million.

The flotation of the company is expected to bring in between £500 million and £750 million. Before it

THE WEEK IN BRITAIN

by James Lewis

can be floated, however, the Government will plough money into the company by replacing its existing bank debts of £273 million with an equal amount in new shares. This is in addition to losses of £372 million written off a year ago. This will leave ministers open to accusations of selling the world's best-known engineering company for nothing. A consolation, if such it be, is that foreign investors will not be allowed to own more than 15 per cent of it.

The Home Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, took an unprecedented step when he allowed a convicted murderer who is serving two life sentences to be released into police custody for a day to search on a bleak, windswept Pennine moorland for the possible graves of two young people who disappeared more than 20 years ago.

The release was that of Myra Hindley who, in 1965, was convicted with her lover, Ian Brady, of the horrific murders of three young people, two of whom were found buried on Saddleworth Moor, in Greater Manchester. Two other youngsters were missing at the same time and the police have decided, for some inexplicable reason, to start searching for their burial places on the moor.

Hindley's costly visit to the scene of her crimes, involving a helicopter flight, the blocking of

roads and a massive armed security cordon, provoked considerable controversy. What, it was asked, could be gained by the search? Could Hindley and Brady, already jointly serving five life sentences from which they will never be released, possibly be put on trial again after such a lapse of time?

The deputy chief constable of Greater Manchester, Mr John Stalker, was not even aware that Hindley was to be brought to help in the search because his chief, Mr James Anderson, had not told him. He had, it seemed, been frozen out by his boss ever since he returned to work three months after being suspended on flimsy charges which were proved to be without foundation.

His suspension was viewed with great suspicion because he was, at the same time, taken off an inquiry into allegations that the police in Northern Ireland were operating a "shoot-to-kill" policy against republican terrorists in the troubled province. His findings, had they ever been completed, would have recommended the prosecution of a number of senior Northern Ireland officers.

After 30 distinguished years of police service, Mr Stalker decided last week to quit. He gave, as his reason, the intolerable pressures brought on himself and his family as a result of his suspension. Privately, he had lost faith in a service which brought spurious charges against him, slung him when they failed to stick, and left him with bills for more than £20,000 spent on his needless defence.

The vulnerability of the Dublin Prime Minister, Dr Garret FitzGerald, and the tenuous nature of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, were demonstrated when the Irish Parliament passed, by only one vote, a Bill allowing suspected terrorists to be extradited for trial in the North.

A greater readiness by both sides to extradite terrorist suspects was an integral part of the Anglo-Irish pact and Dr FitzGerald was determined to honour this undertaking. But Ireland has been traditionally uneasy about placing its prisoners before the British courts and the Dail managed to amend the new extradition law in such a way that it will not take effect for years — by which time, it was evidently hoped, either Dublin, or Westminster, or even both, might have new governments.

MI5 book trial ends in welter of accusations

By Richard Norton-Taylor in Sydney

THE MI5 secrets trial in Australia ended last Friday, but Mr Justice Powell is not expected to give his judgment on whether Mr Peter Wright can publish his memoirs until the middle of February.

It has become increasingly clear that Whitehall is concerned about the exposure of two particularly damaging episodes: the alleged plot by 30 MI5 officers to destabilise the 1974/5 Wilson government, and the investigations of Soviet penetration at the top of the security service.

The evidence, the judge said on Friday, showed that Sir Robert would not stoop to lie when a half-truth would do. He suggested that the Cabinet Secretary had used what he called the old soldier's camouflage trick of giving a misleading impression and intending to do so.

Mr Justice Powell told the court in his final intervention: "My real complaint is that enough issues were thrown up well in advance to indicate to the authorities in Britain there would be a lot of questions to be answered." These answers, if they were going to be satisfactory, needed to be given by "someone in authority".

The impression he got from first reading Sir Robert's affidavits had totally changed as a result of later evidence, he said. "He is an official, not a technician able to give hard, detailed, compelling evidence. That's my objection to Sir Robert."

The judge intervened after Mr Theo Simos QC, for the Government — who throughout the trial has adopted a low key approach — had delivered a brief but savage attack on Mr Malcolm Turnbull, the lawyer acting for Mr Peter Wright, the former MI6 officer

whose memoirs the Government is trying to suppress.

Mr Turnbull's criticisms of Sir Robert and Sir Michael Havers, the Attorney-General, said Mr Simos were "extravagant, melodramatic, and outrageous. They were baseless, unjustified, and should be rejected out of hand," he said.

Mr Turnbull, earlier this week accused Sir Michael and the Government in general of having used Sir Robert as a "fall guy" to "lie and dissemble" to the court.

Grants cut

By Nicholas de Jongh

ARTS Council subsidies to the Royal Shakespeare Company and the National Theatre have been frozen at existing cash levels for the first time. Next year, the RSC will get £5,197,000 and the NT £51,400 — the same as in 1984. The new cash allocations announced last week, in effect, amount to a cut of about 6.5 per cent in real terms. The South Bank Board which funds concert halls by the Thames will suffer the same standstill treatment in 1987.

The Arts Council decision, taken on the advice of its drama panel, will plunge the RSC, which has an accumulated £800,000 deficit after a poor year at the box office, into immediate difficulty. Its new chief executive, Mr Terry Hands, described the allocation as "a curiously aggressive action. I do not understand it," he said.

His first reaction was that the company would have to cut one of its main productions at the Barbican Theatre next year and one at the Pit. It would also have to try to reduce the size of the company.

OBITUARIES Sir Harry Platt

SIR HARRY PLATT, one of the founding fathers of modern orthopaedic surgery, has died at his home in Manchester at the age of 100. He devoted his life to the cure and treatment of fractures and bone disabilities, which he had suffered himself as a child. He was inspired to study medicine by the surgeon Sir Robert Jones, who straightened his knee. Sir Harry founded Britain's first separate fracture clinic in Ancoats in Manchester in 1914, and headed Manchester University's orthopaedics department when it was set up in 1932.

Under his leadership both clinic

and department were unrivalled in Britain and he became the country's first professor of orthopaedic surgery when a chair was created for him at Manchester in 1939. He was president of the Royal College of Surgeons from 1954 to 1957 and played a major part in the organisation of the National Health Service.

His own disability, which gave him a pronounced limp, prevented Sir Harry from taking much exercise, to which he attributed his long life. An accomplished musician and composer, he came from a long-established Lancashire textile family.

Bill Simpson — Dr Finlay

BILL SIMPSON, the Scottish actor who for 12 years played Dr Finlay in Dr Finlay's Casebook on BBC radio and television, has died, aged 64.

Dr Finlay followed. It was to keep him busy on BBC TV for nine years — and on -BBC Radio for another three.

Mr Simpson toured frequently, including two years in Educating Rita playing the ageing lecturer who in the film was played by

Michael Caine. He was in pantomime during most Christmas seasons.

Mr Simpson had a home in Spain and went there to rest after he became seriously ill. He was there when he was again taken ill.

Mr Simpson was twice married. Both marriages ended in divorce. He had two children by his second marriage to the actress Tracy Reed, step-daughter of the film director Sir Carol Reed.

David Penhaligon, MP

THE Liberal MP for Truro, Cornwall, Mr David Penhaligon, was killed on Monday, when a van skidded on black ice and crashed into his Rover car on a steep hill near his constituency.

Police said that conditions at the scene were so bad that officers could not stand up.

The out-of-control van went on to hit a bus and then burst into flames.

The 42-year-old MP was the Liberal treasury spokesman, and one of his party's best known and best-liked members.

A former president of the party and was one of three politicians who stood in to host the BBC Radio 2 Jimmy Young programme when JY was on holiday last month. His majority at the last election was 10,480.

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The pinkoes who help to people Paranoia Gulch

WITH the Government's Australian ordeal over for the present, I recall a conversation I had shortly after the election in October 1974. I went to see a respected politician, who had been prominent in the Heath cabinet and now faced a lengthy exile from power. What were his plans? Would he stay in front-line politics, or perhaps retire to hushier pastures?

He replied with unexpected ferocity. He certainly intended to remain in politics, and for a simple reason. He felt it his patriotic duty to nullify, and as soon as possible defeat, the Labour Government of Harold Wilson. This was because it was peopled by traitors.

Furthermore, he could name them. During his time in government he had seen their security files. On the basis of these he could say with certainty that Mrs Barbara Castle, Mr Michael Foot, Mr Tony Benn and Mr Denis Healey were "Muscovites." The most suspect of all was Healey. "Perhaps," he said with relish, "we will wake up one morning and find that Denis Healey is in a pool of blood on the pavement."

My informant was a reasonable man. He survived the Labour years to become a prince among wets under Mrs Thatcher. He would never contemplate saying a fraction of this in public. No Tebbit he: far too civilised, and scornful of almost everything the Tory Right represents.

But what he does share with them is a partially paranoid mind. Admitted to the depths of this seeming organism, I was reminded that even in the Gentlemen's Tendency, the Labour Party is regarded as something much more ominous than a political opponent. And when, having recounted this

episode in another place in 1977, I ran into the gentleman in question at a party conference, he volunteered with grinning jubilation: "I still believe it. I still believe it."

This glimpse into an unshakable faith has its modern continuities. At the same time as a departed minister was filled with these apprehensions, a cabal of MI5 officers, including Mr Peter Wright, was, according to Wright himself, preparing to act on similar fears in a series of unauthorised operations against the Labour prime minister.

There was common feeling, if not provably common cause, between Conservative politicians and security officials of the Wright persuasion. Indeed, a detail of my own encounter which has remained with me is that it coincided with the visit to my informant's house of a shadowy figure, leaving as I arrived, who was casually described to me as "the chap who kept me informed on these things when I was in government."

Labour's questionable allegiance was a theme pursued by Mrs Thatcher throughout her time in Opposition, and it united all wings of her party. On a Panorama programme in July 1977, she all but asserted that Labour was indistinguishable from the Communist Party, and said that Prime Minister Callaghan, while not perhaps a Trotskyist himself, was surrounded by Trotskyists he could not control.

The echoes of this reach into 1986. Indeed, they are getting louder. The prime minister's attacks on Mr Kinnoch now resound with intimations not of error but of treachery. A streak of venomous hatred, not manufactured for parliamentary show, enters her every

reply to any question that has any bearing on defence and security. If you press the average Tory to explain this, he will come up with one or two plausible bits of evidence going rather beyond Arthur Scargill's one-time liking for holidays in Bulgaria. Plainly there are militants in the Labour Party who long for the overthrow of capitalism, and devote their lives to the unpromising objective of a British revolution. There always have been such dreamers, and now they have a foothold in a few inner-city branches and councils.

It might also be said that the Labour Party tends to see the Soviet Union in a less menacing light than the Conservative Party. It is not so disposed as the Tories to assume that Moscow is poised for the attack. In its coarser variant, this feeling is accompanied by a gut anti-Americanism which is usually as blind as it is dumb. Plenty of material here to titillate the excited imagination of a Tory Commie-spotter.

Again, images of the East European socialist state have rolled easily off the tongue, especially in 1979, as a description of what Labour's economic policy would lead to. Perhaps this is mere political slanging. But it helps reinforce the impression that if you scrape the skin of British socialism you will find an arm of the Comintern: sometimes witting, sometimes unwitting, but Muscovite all the time.

This, soberly and fiercely, is what my 1974 informant believed, and doubtless still believes. It is, in fact, a calumny so gross as to make one wonder about his sanity and

that of the legions of Conservatives who think as he does, not excluding the present prime minister. The fact that this was a leader's opinion of Healey, Castle, Foot and Benn tells one a lot more about the psyche of Conservatism than the politics of socialism.

What such a judgment says is that the Labour Party fundamentally lacks legitimacy. British socialism, we are to understand is not simply a creed that doesn't work. It is actually an alien force: its policies East German, its allegiance Russian, its leaders the dupes or manipulators of this misbegotten creature. When Mrs Thatcher speaks of needing a third term to destroy socialism, those are the well-springs of her passion.

Now it is true enough that British socialism has lost its way. It teeters uneasily between abelances to Marx, to Crookland, to Tawney. If you took some of its ideas to their logical conclusion, you might indeed end up in East Berlin: but this overlooks the fact that logical conclusions are what the Labour leadership is at great pains to disavow.

That leadership is not very different from the leadership of socialist parties elsewhere in Europe. Yet nowhere else is a challenge made to the very right of a "socialist" party to exist. Nowhere are questions asked about its patriotic reliability. Only in Britain does the governing party contend that its main rival ought, in a well-ordered world, to be wiped off the board as a foreign excrescence.

Given the odious intolerance of a handful of local authority bosses, you might say that the Tories have a point. Brent and Haringey councils look like being a vote-losing embarrassment for Labour. But in

their major claim, breaching taking in its arrogance, the Tories go a substantial way towards repudiating the values of democratic politics.

There could be no graver charge against a security service than that it acted to destabilise its own government. Yet this is what a participant in the operation against Wilson now apparently confesses. He thinks he was doing the country a favour. It is a deeply scandalous prima facie revelation. If any event of the recent past requires a judicial inquiry, there could not be a more obvious candidate.

But the present government appears not to be interested. It puts up a junior minister to try to blow the thing away with one feeble puff.

At the bottom of the government's indifference, however, lies this other factor. Harold Wilson, as Roy Jenkins aptly said, carried light ideological baggage. So does Mr Kinnoch. But inside the most unexpected Conservatives, an MI5 file-keeper is struggling to be heard. For them, all socialists are walking in the wrong direction.

A COUNTRY DIARY

INVERNESS: Two months ago a local naturalist brought me a small mammal to identify as he could not work out which species he had obtained. It had been brought in by a cat that had been hunting along the shore line of Loch Ness. The blunt nose indicated it was a vole but the specimen was too large to have been a bank vole or field vole and in any case its tail was too long. However, the tail was far too short to have been a brown rat and the ears and muzzles were also too short. So by a process of elimination it could only be a water vole. However, this was no ordinary water vole as it was completely black rather than the more usual brown colour. This black form — some people claim it to be a distinct subspecies, *Arvicola terrestris rita* — is only occasionally found in Britain and generally in the north of Scotland. To be fair to the naturalist who brought the specimen for me it is unusual to see a black form and the size aspect was not readily apparent as it was immature.

The distribution maps of the water vole indicate that the location where this particular vole was found is at the extreme northern edge of its known range, although it is suspected to occur even further north and west. Although I have not seen a live water vole in the Highlands I have occasionally found them as prey items in golden eagle eyries and these have always been the black form. This is another indication of the wide range of food that golden eagles will take. Other predators on the water vole included stoat, mink and pike. Water voles are therefore uncommon throughout the Highlands and do not seem to occur at all in the Inner or Outer Hebrides. So most people I spoke to had never seen a water vole let alone a black one and there was considerable interest in the specimen.

So much interest in fact that I decided to have the specimen mounted. The end result is a very attractive and interesting mount with the animal on a small log and sitting upright in the feeding position with its tail curled over the log. The small front feet each grasp a small piece of soft rush. For interpreting Highland wildlife at shows and lectures — including schools — it has already proven invaluable.

Ray Collier

THE GUARDIAN, December 28, 1986

RAF 'would prefer fewer Awacs to risking Nimrod'

THE RAF is prepared to buy fewer American Awacs than it needs, pay more for them, and wait until 1991 to get the first one, rather than risk being left with a British Nimrod radar aircraft that is still inadequate.

This was the essence of the explanatory statement which the Defence Secretary, Mr George Younger, made to the House of Commons on Thursday last week when he confirmed the Government's decision to scrap the GEC Nimrod after nine years' work and purchase a fleet of Boeing Awacs instead.

Mr Younger said it was a sad decision. Everyone's instincts would be to buy British if we could. But he was sure it was right. It was based on unanimous advice, scientific, military and civilian, that the risk of assuming that GEC could get the Nimrod radar working properly in three years as the company said it could — was too big.

The Defence Secretary acknowledged that the issue could not be absolutely resolved. It was a question of whose engineering judgment one accepted — GEC's or the ministry's. He also admitted that the British avionics firm was prepared to back its own judgment by paying half Nimrod's remaining development bill of £860 million. That £330 million share would only have been repaid by the Government if the 11 Nimrods had been delivered on time to the required specification.

But GEC could not carry the military risk of failure, which would leave the RAF without any airborne early warning aircraft in the early 1990s, and it was this, Mr Younger said, which forced him to play safe by buying an American system that would definitely work.

The Defence Ministry is therefore cancelling all its Nimrod contracts with GEC immediately, and placing an £860 million order for six Boeing E-3 Awacs aircraft instead, for delivery from 1991. A fleet of six aircraft is not enough to mount the four airborne early warning patrols the RAF wants; it will only manage three of them, to a lower standard than required.

But Boeing has given the ministry the option to purchase a further two aircraft at the same

price — £95 million each — within six months, and Mr Younger says he will consider whether these can be afforded when he has had a chance to assess next year's long-term budget costs.

The full cost of meeting the air staff's original requirement (ASR 400) will therefore be £1,060 million, rather than £860 million (plus the £330 million already spent on Nimrod) — a difference of nearly £400 million, not the £200 million mentioned somewhat confusingly in the Commons statement.

The minister said at his press conference later that he had agreed contractual terms at the earliest possible stage," he told MPs.

News that the Boeing system had been sanctioned by the Cabinet marginally pushed up the shares of Plessey, Racal and Ferranti, the three principal British partners in the Awacs consortium. GEC's share price remained down at about 6p over their 160p low for the year. In six months the group has had its market value knocked down by about £1.7 billion to just under £4.4 billion.

GEC, headed by Lord Weinstock, is expected by City watchers to increase its write-off costs on Nimrod from £16 million so far to £25 million at the end of the current trading year. Although analysts expect GEC as a whole to weather the storm, the outlook for GEC Avionics, where up to 1,500 jobs are expected to be lost, is bleak.

The contract offered by Boeing to place offset work in Britain as part of a deal to supply its Awacs radar system would be an infringement of sovereignty. Being confirmed that under the US Export Administration Act 1985 any British company accepting a contract from them would have its business placed under the control of the US Department of Commerce. Under US law the department must licence and control all movement, manufacture, and sales of US technology in Britain.

Sir Michael Havers, the Attorney General ruled three years ago that this US act is an infringement of UK sovereignty and must not be accepted by British companies.

Last June the Government, in an unpublished note of protest, told the US government to stop intervention in British companies under this act. The occasion for that protest was a raid by CIA agents on a Leeds company to discover what had happened to US computer parts.

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Deal infringement of sovereignty

By Paul Brown

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Atomic test cancer claims can be heard

A FORMER lance corporal with the Royal Engineers last week won a High Court victory that could give him and hundreds of other servicemen the right to sue the Government over cancers allegedly contracted after they witnessed the British atomic and hydrogen bomb tests on Christmas Island in the late 1950s.

In a ruling that will be seen as a potential erosion of the Crown's immunity from legal action, Mr Justice Caulfield held that the Ministry of Defence could not rely on immunity as a complete defence to a damages claim by a blood cancer victim, Mr Mervyn Bruce Pearce.

In a ruling that will be seen as a potential erosion of the Crown's immunity from legal action, Mr Justice Caulfield held that the Ministry of Defence could not rely on immunity as a complete defence to a damages claim by a blood cancer victim, Mr Mervyn Bruce Pearce.

The Government announced two weeks ago that the controversial Section 10 of the 1947 Crown Proceedings Act, which has barred members of the Armed Forces from bringing legal actions against the Crown, was to be repealed. But the change will not help Mr Pearce and others seeking to sue over the

past injuries because it will not be retrospective.

But after last week's ruling, Mr Mark Mildred, Mr Pearce's solicitor said that repeal of Section 10 gave Mr Pearce an added argument that it would be unfair to penalise him because his illness related to an incident 30 years ago.

Mr Pearce claims that, at the time of the bomb tests, he was owed a duty of care, not by his Army employers, but by the now-defunct Atomic Energy Authority. The Authority was not a Crown body, but its military functions came under the control of the Ministry of Defence in 1973.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Caulfield ruled that the authority's rights, liabilities and obligations in its military operations were transferred directly to the Defence Secretary and not to the Crown itself.

The judge rejected the ministry's argument that the Secretary of State was "the crown itself" rather than an officer of the Crown and therefore could not be sued.

Mr Pearce claims that on Christmas Island, he worked on a refrigeration unit used in connection with atomic tests and saw nuclear explosions.

His illness started in 1966 and a severe skin condition developed in 1970.



"Oh back — it's my husband! I'd installed the Nimrod system but the Ministry of Defence were right — he's got through undetected."

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THE WEEK

FIVE HUNDRED days after announcing its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests, a Soviet Government statement last week announced that it would resume testing next year, immediately after the first American nuclear test of 1987.

This represents a dramatic setback to one of the boldest strokes of Mr Gorbachev's foreign policy. "The Soviet Union cannot endlessly show a one-sided restraint in a situation which is causing serious damage to Soviet security," the statement said.

"It laid the entire blame on the American Government. The Soviet Union stressed that it was ready to stop its own renewed testing programme 'on any day, in any month,' if the Americans would reconsider."

THE US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, is "very likely" to meet Mr Oliver Tambo next month if the president of the African National Congress visits the US, an Administration official said this week. The official noted that Mr Tambo has not followed through in the past with plans to visit Washington.

POLICE and troops have been rushed to several new areas of Karachi, after fresh outbreaks of trouble. Curfew was imposed on the jail area after a mob of 500 attacked a police station where youths arrested for setting up street barricades were being held.

MR Eloy Gutierrez Manoyo, a Spanish-born guerrilla leader who fought in the Cuban revolution and spent 21 years in jail after falling foul of President Fidel Castro, arrived in Madrid this week after being freed. He met his daughter Elena, aged 24, for the first time and was cheered by a crowd of Cuban exiles, including two other former guerrilla commanders.

A TROUBLED homecoming awaited the released American prisoner, Eugene Hennessey, as he flew home this week, pardoned by his Nicaraguan captors so that he could be interrogated by congressional committees. Despite President Reagan's emotional support for the contras, there was no invitation for Mr Hennessey to appear at the White House, although a presidential welcome has become routine for former hostages.

MORE than 80 civilians were killed at the weekend in an aerial raid on the western city of Baghdad. Tehran threatened to retaliate within 24 hours with long-range artillery fire on Iraqi military and industrial areas.

INTENSE lobbying is going on in Islamabad after the weekend's cabinet resignation as former ministers, members of the provincial and national assemblies and other hopefuls try to stake claims for themselves in the new cabinet. Key portfolios in a skeleton cabinet are to be allocated later this week.

GREECE and Turkey are trading noisy protests over a border incident in the Evros river area in which one Greek and two Turkish soldiers were killed, but neither side has openly threatened retaliation. Although last Friday's shooting was described by European diplomats as the "most serious recent incident" between the quarrelling NATO allies, they noted that both governments seemed anxious to avoid further skirmishes.

THE French Government acted swiftly at the weekend to stop any more terrorist trials collapsing because of defections by nervous jurors. In future, such cases will be heard by judges only. Mr Alain Chalon, the Justice Minister, put forward an amendment to make a September law on terrorist trials retrospective.

This means that Mr Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, alleged leader of the terrorist group, Armed Revolutionary Labourers Front, will face trial without jurors on charges of involvement in the murder of two diplomats in Paris in 1982.

Students on the march in Shanghai

By Jasper Becker in Shanghai

THOUSANDS of chanting students demanding greater freedom and democracy held China's largest city, Shanghai, in their grip on Sunday night after a third day of protests, the biggest demonstrations to hit the country since the end of the Cultural Revolution 10 years ago.

Vowing to continue marches and demonstrations, the protesters, estimated to number between 20,000 and 30,000 at one point, were for the most part good-humoured, although there were reports of sporadic violence. In one incident, reported by the official New China News Agency, 31 policemen were beaten up, and there were at least seven arrests, while the protesters alleged assaults by police.

Early on Monday morning, in sub-zero temperatures, groups of students were maintaining an all-night vigil in the huge, open spaces of Shanghai's People's Park, half an hour's walk from the City

Hall which was earlier besieged by protesters. Still ringing in their ears was the exhortation from one student leader, Dai Junyi, from a local medical college, "All of you should open your eyes. We are being suppressed. The Chinese people will not be slaves."

The Government has reacted cautiously to the daring challenge to its authority, which has grown out of a series of smaller protests held since the beginning of the month in Hefei, Whan, Kunming, Shandong, Shenzhen and other cities.

The demonstrations across China are linked to the December 9 anniversary of the 1936 anti-Japanese student protests, which was also marked by demonstrations in Peking a year ago. The subsequent clampdown in Peking is thought to have led students in the provinces to take up the banner. This year the protests

have focused on the election of representatives to local people's assemblies.

The movement began in earnest in Shanghai a week earlier when police intervened to prevent Chinese and foreigners dancing together at a concert given by the US pop group Jan and Dean. Despite attempts by Shanghai's mayor to calm the students, the protests have grown.

The students tabled four demands during their meeting with the mayor — recognition of the legality of the movement, a promise of no reprisals, a free press and free elections.

But in a dawn raid on Saturday, students claimed that police broke up an all-night vigil, arresting 500 students before later releasing 300. The students are now demanding an investigation into police brutality and the release of all the arrested students.

Long, honourable tradition of protest

By Michael Simmons

THE STUDENTS of Shanghai who climbed over their college walls last weekend to get out on the streets and demonstrate may have had a variety of motives, from the desire for democracy to a complaint about official disapproval of a recent rock concert.

But they take their place — and most of them know it very well — in a long and honourable tradition of student protest in modern China which is applauded, though rather nervously, by the Communist leadership itself.

The last great upsurge of youthful criticism, in the Democracy Movement of 1979-80, worked to the advantage of Mr Deng Xiaoping and his fellow-reformers by attacking the transitional post-Mao leadership which he was manoeuvring to replace. Indeed, Mr Deng helped to stir it up, until the movement became too "democratic" and its leaders were imprisoned.

The latest movement, which can be traced back to the anti-Japanese student demonstrations of last autumn and winter (also, some believe, officially encouraged), is less theoretical and more diverse. So far, it has produced no dissenting journals of the kind sold six years ago from Democracy Wall in Peking.

Chinese students today are more individualistic and define the future mainly in terms of opportunities for jobs, travel and personal freedom.

Only toddlers at the height of the Cultural Revolution, most of them no longer share that sense of collective destiny which still sustained the demonstrators against the Gang of Four in the great Tiananmen Square demonstration in Peking in 1976, and the activists of the Democracy Movement.

But they are as quick as any group in the past to seize the chance, to protest against official

heavy-handedness, often in a tone of drama-filled hyperbole.

The chance which the students in Hefei, capital of central Anhui province, first seized two weeks ago, is offered by the argument now going on within the central party leadership over the desirability of political reform, and how far it should go. There is a wide divide, only partly masked in the public press, between those who seek real structural reform (perhaps even building in a degree of official opposition to the present system of government) and the more conservative leaders who simply wish to clean out corruption and make the system function more efficiently.

The Hefei students adopted a slogan first coined by the Democracy Movement activist, Wei Jingsheng, who was sentenced in 1979 to 15 years in jail. "No democracy, no modernisation," they wrote on their banners as they marched to the Anhui provincial government offices, and called for the right to select the representatives chosen in their name by the party for the provincial people's congress.

Mr Deng Xiaoping is really interested in the four economic modernisations — industry, agriculture, science and technology, and defence. But he and his group, nudged forward by more radical advisers, may have to accept now that democracy is the indispensable "fifth modernisation."

There is an odd echo from the experience of Mao Tse-tung which led during the 1960s in a very different direction. When new economic policies had failed to produce Socialist plenty and the Great Leap Forward collapsed, Mao launched the Culture Revolution as a political solution to China's problems.

Rejecting that solution, Deng Xiaoping thought at first that the economic modernisation of China was a sufficient goal in itself. But more recently he has discovered that — as the Chairman liked to say — politics still takes first place.

Yet the models for action on which the Anhui and Shanghai students now base their protest no longer have much to do with Democracy Wall or the Red Guard rallies. With same-day satellite coverage available on Chinese television, they will have watched the recent student demonstrations in Paris and will have heard reports of anti-Moscow riots in Kazakhstan.

If they are motivated by an -ism, it has more to do with nation or nationality than with a particular political theory. Last year's anti-Japanese demonstrations struck a popular chord. So, in the non-Chinese Uighur in Xinjiang (where many miles from Alma-Ata where the Soviet Muslims have been protesting), did the demonstrations last year against the Chinese nuclear programme.

All of these themes may merge in Shanghai, where the students on the streets are joined by unemployed youth — including many who have returned illegally from the border regions — and where a second wave of penetration by foreign business and tourism arouses as much envy as admiration.

From the May 1919 movement, which launched the modern Chinese revolution, onwards, every student movement has always sooner or later been suppressed. But it is equally true that every new political stage has been launched by a student demonstration. Those on vigil last night in the People's Park have certainly learned that in their history books.

Changes at the top in Vietnam

By Nicholas Cumming-Bruce in Bangkok

VIETNAM'S sixth Communist Party congress last week elected a noted economic reformer, Mr Nguyen Van Linh, as its general secretary in a step that marks the end of an era in Vietnamese politics.

Mr Linh's appointment followed the resignation of the previous party leader, Mr Truong Chinh, and his two top colleagues, the Prime Minister, Mr Pham Van Dong, and the party organiser, Mr Le Duc Tho, breaking the grip on power of Vietnam's first generation of Communist leaders.

Their departure, along with three other Politburo members, including the Defence Minister, Mr Van Tien Dung, opens the way, if not for a Chinese-style lurch into modernisation, at least a period of transition towards more pragmatic political and economic management.

Using the rhetoric of recent debate and self-criticism, Mr Linh told departing delegates that the congress marked a turning point in the process of "renovating the leadership in the political, organisational and ideological fields."

The political report approved by what the Communist Party daily newspaper Nhan Dan hailed as a "congress of determination, wisdom, renovation and creativeness" also makes clear that the overhauling of the party will now be pursued in the middle ranks to sweep away unqualified old-timers and to purge the corrupt.

The most important survivor of the Politburo is the 74-year-old Interior Minister, Mr Pham Hung, who moved up one rung to second place in the new line-up.

What is striking about the 11-man Politburo just elected is the weighty presence of southerners of those who served in the south, who have been closely associated with the pioneering efforts at a more pragmatic, decentralised system of economic management.

In addition to Mr Linh, they include Mr Vo Chi Cong, who was head of the Committee for Socialist Transformation in Ho Chi Minh City and in June was promoted to vice-premier for economic affairs in place of the outgoing Politburo member Mr To Huu, and who now seems well-placed for the premier ship.

Another is Mr Vo Ban Kiet, who once served under Mr Linh in Ho Chi Minh City before being made chairman of the state planning commission and who proved a staunch advocate of reform. A third is Mr Mai Chi Tho, younger brother of Le Duc Tho, also a former Ho Chi Minh City mayor and a new entrant to the Politburo at this congress.

The ascendancy of those backing economic reform is not expected to translate into any early shift in Vietnam's policies on Kampuchea, clearly seen by Hanoi as subordinate to the pressing problems of the economy.

Vietnam feels under pressure to demonstrate flexibility in the search for a settlement of its eight-year conflict since Mikhail Gorbachev's Vladivostok initiative diplomats in Hanoi say.

During a visit to Hanoi for the congress, the Kremlin's chief ideologist, Mr Yegor Ligachev, spoke of the beneficial effects to be derived from a normalisation of ties between China and Vietnam, but also referred to "the fair and reasonable policy of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea" towards solving regional problems.

Moscow rushes troops to riot city

By Martin Walker in Moscow

AUTHORITIES in the Soviet central Asian republic of Kazakhstan, scene of nationalist-inspired riots last week, were accused at the weekend of complacency and ordered to make sharp improvements in the quality of local services.

An extraordinary meeting of the Kazakh government heard that there were serious shortcomings in the republic's housing, trade, and medical services, crop production was below target and consumer goods were in short supply.

Mr Mikhail Solomentsev, a member of the ruling Politburo in Moscow who was sent to the republic after the riots, and Kazakhstan's new Communist Party leader, Mr Gennady Kolbin, both addressed the meeting, the official news agency Tass said.

According to unofficial reports reaching here from the provincial capital, Alma-Ata, at least seven policemen and 13 demonstrators were killed in the riots. The demonstrators, said to number more than 10,000, marched on the Communist Party headquarters on the Wednesday night, broke into the building at three points, and ransacked some offices.

The official Soviet media have said that the disturbances were violent but reported no deaths. According to reports reaching

Western correspondents, 70,000 troops have been rushed to the area, none of them from local Kazakh regiments. Troops with armoured cars occupied the university where the trouble began on Friday night.

Sources here claim that 15 planes left the Soviet capital for Alma-Ata last week, carrying a host of party investigators, and administrative staff who will take over the running of the local Kazakh party.

The riots began after the veteran Kazakh party leader, Mr Dinnukhamed Kunayev, was replaced by Mr Kolbin, a Russian, in a party coup that had been ordered from Moscow.

Anti-Russian sentiments among the predominantly Kazakh students began the demonstrations. The inability, or perhaps the reluctance, of local Kazakh party officials to cool the situation allowed it to escalate into widespread anti-Russian riots. According to usually reliable Muscovites with relatives in Alma-Ata, the rioters were able to break into two prisons and free the inmates. Russians in the streets were attacked on sight, stabbed and clubbed.

The riots seem to have been

Behind the trouble in Kazakhstan

IN the course of a 40-minute TV news programme, Mikhail Gorbachev's prestige suffered two severe blows before a nightly audience of 160 million of his people. The announcement of the end of the 17-month unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests — an initiative to which he had been personally committed — dented his foreign policy.

Minutes later, the unprecedented announcement of the riots in the southern republic of Kazakhstan amounted to a direct personal challenge not only to Moscow's rule, but also to Gorbachev himself. Gennady Kolbin, the Russian who had experience of anti-corruption campaigns in Georgia in the 1970s, was asked for trouble. With the riots, they got it.

So Kunayev's replacement by Kolbin, who had experience of anti-corruption campaigns in Georgia in the 1970s, was asked for trouble. With the riots, they got it. But what happened to the usually ruthless Soviet method of maintaining public order? There is speculation in Moscow that local party officials, fearing the inevitable Kolbin purge, did little to stop the initial student demonstrations and may even have encouraged them.

The real concern will be to establish to what extent Kazakh nationalism merged into Moscow's nightmare of an Islamic revival. The Islamic religion is officially permitted on much the same terms as the Russian Orthodox Church. So long as it support Soviet foreign policy and makes the right noises about peace, and does not get involved in domestic politics, the mosques remain open and the

under the ambitious virgin lands scheme. Although it proved a limited agricultural success, and an ecological disaster, it helped to populate the land — and to reinforce Russian control.

Brezhnev's lieutenant in that process was Kunayev, who was finally retired last week from the post he had held for over 20 years as First Secretary of Kazakhstan. Under him, a vast network of official corruption developed — and so did Kazakh nationalism, spurred by the increasing Russian settlement, and by the tenacity of the Islamic religion.

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mullahe are allowed to make their pilgrimages to Mecca.

But in recent years, there has been growing evidence of an underground and militant Islam of itinerant mullahe and Koran study groups. Radio Tehran broadcasts the Ayatollah's sermons from just across the border, and the war in Afghanistan gives the Islamic issues a personal and frightening dimension to every Muslim conscript.

Last month, Mr Gorbachev stopped off on the way to India to lecture party officials in the neighbouring republic of Uzbekistan, to condemn those who went to the mosques and to demand "an uncompromising struggle against all manifestations of religious phenomena." That was followed by Soviet press reports of draft evasion in Uzbekistan.

What is significant about this is that Uzbekistan has already gone through the purge of party ranks which Kazakhstan now fears. The fact that the purge took place without unrest in Uzbekistan, where Islam seemed much more powerful and the Russian settlers far less prominent, doubtless convinced Mr Gorbachev and his supporters that they would meet little opposition to last week's party coup in Kazakhstan.

They proved, quite dramatically, to be mistaken. It was a mistake that bodes ill for Mr Gorbachev's hopes of encouraging cautious liberalisation and more freedom of expression for the Soviet people.

Sen. Dole tells Reagan to 'clean the air'

By Alex Brummer and Michael White in Washington

WITH President Reagan and Vice-President George Bush under heavy fire this week for failing to come to grips with the Iran-contra scandal, Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, the senior Republican on Capitol Hill, led a chorus of voices calling on the Administration to "clean the air" so that the US Government can function again.

Among the immediate steps urged was the appointment of a replacement for the CIA director, Mr William Casey, who is recovering from a brain tumour operation, and a new White House supreme to take charge of its dealings with Congress and investigators looking into the Iran-contra connection.

Senator Dole, who has come from the back of the Republican pack to displace Vice-President Bush as the favourite for the presidential nomination in 1988, said: "There's still a lot of confusion out there, still a feeling he has to do something bold himself to clear the air." President Reagan's image as a strong leader has not been enhanced by apparent suggestions by the Attorney General, Mr Edwin Meese, that the President may have been under sedation after his colon cancer operation in July, 1985, when he authorised an arms shipment to Iran.

The frustrated President, whose critical faculties are now being openly questioned in the newspaper columns, told Senator Dole in a recent meeting that "people like, but they don't believe in me."

The loss of credibility suffered by President Reagan and the Vice-President was recognised by Mr Bush at the weekend. He told correspondents aboard Air Force Two that he recognises he is "no longer frontrunner" in the race for the 1988 Republican nomination. But he forcefully rejected the notion that his reputation and that of President Reagan will continue to suffer as "complete nonsense." Nevertheless, the President's reluctance to go before the American people with what he now knows and the confusing series of leaks has changed the Presidential politics of 1988.

In addition to Senator Dole's surge to the front of the Republican field, Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia said he would make up his mind whether to run for the Democratic nomination "in the next two or three weeks." And Senator Gary Hart, the Democratic frontrunner, weighed into the debate with a wide ranging attack on the mass in the White House foreign policy-making.

The difficulties facing the White House were demonstrated again with further disclosures about US diplomatic moves in the Iran-Iraq war. The Washington Post reported that the State De-

partment had begun sending peace signals to Iran via Switzerland in late November and early December — in the wake of the exposure of the US-Iran arms connection.

At the same time, there were suggestions that in addition to supplying intelligence data to Iraq, the US has also provided quantities of arms in exchange for Soviet military equipment, including helicopters. This indicates a far closer relationship with Baghdad than previously revealed, adding to the questions which will have to be raised by Congressional investigators.

The White House announced last week that President Reagan will return to Bethesda naval hospital for minor surgery for an enlarged prostate which has given him discomfort in recent weeks. He will enter the hospital in Maryland for three or four days after cutting short his New Year's break in California on January 4.

In a calculated effort to dampen predictable speculation about the 75-year-old President's health in the worst crisis of his administration, White House spokesman Mr Larry Speakes said the occasion of the "non-urgent" transurethral resection would also be used to do the President's 18-month routine check on his colon.

In full pursuit of the Contragate affair, the White House press corps did not raise any possibility that the President's medical problems might, in any way, trigger his resignation — an event without precedent in the history of the presidency. Mr Speakes called his boss "just a superman."

The other superman, Colonel North, is the subject of new revelations. The day the Irangate affair broke, Colonel North burst into a colleague's office and claimed to have ordered relatives of high Iranian officials to be kidnapped and held in crates throughout Europe, presumably including Britain, where the ubiquitous colonel's links have this week already compromised the Archbishop of Canterbury's special envoy, Mr Terry Waite.

The idea, the Los Angeles Times reported, was that they, and not arms, could be traded for American hostages. So shocked was the colleague, Mr David Major, a National Security Council specialist in counter-terrorism, that he repeated Colonel North's highly convincing account to colleagues before concluding it was yet another of the fantasies now being alleged against the central figure in the scandal.

Mr Speakes said, for the record: "The NSC has no such plans or anything like that to kidnap people and lock 'em in cages all over Europe."

Clampdown on press 'radicals'

By David Beresford in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICA published an extraordinary defence of its clampdown on the press at the weekend, blaming "radicals" and "revolutionaries" in the media for most of its present woes.

In a half-page advertisement published in Sunday newspapers — headed "the facts in true perspective" — the Government conceded that the six-month state of emergency had still not defused what it described as a "revolutionary climate" in South Africa.

"Under current circumstances there would be a quick return to violence and unrest if the state of

emergency were now to be lifted," it said. Describing the conflict in the country as "primarily a struggle of perceptions, not of conventional arms," it protested that "most of the media" — despite the emergency — had continued to promote the cause of the "radicals" rather than the "moderates."

Expressing "respect" for what it calls "the bona fide inclination of the media to adopt critical attitudes towards the government of the day," the advertisement added: "However, there can at the same time be no doubt that there are individuals within the established

media and organs of the alternative media who strongly believe that the media should be overly and covertly used to promote the objectives of the radical revolution."

Insisting that the struggle in South Africa was between "moderates and radicals," the advertisement concluded by advising the media to "decide which side they are on. In so doing they should bear in mind that were the radicals ever to win, freedom of the press would be the first victim. It would disappear totally and permanently."

The Government's defence of its draconian new Press Laws follows the issue of new orders by the country's police chief at the weekend, and further tightening restrictions on what the Government described as organs of the "alternative media." The new orders — served by plainclothes police on the Sowetan, City Press, and the Weekly Mail — prohibits them from publishing any report, pamphlet, comment or advertisement or any other news in connection with campaigns for a "Christmas against the Emergency."

Meanwhile, as predicted, the

Spiked wine is the salt of the earth

By Martin Walinwright

A BIT of lateral thinking by a snowplough manufacturer in the Alps has found a possible — and nationally useful — way of disposing of Austria's embarrassing lake of contaminated wine.

Millions of gallons, impounded last year after the revelation that they had been spiked with an antifreeze additive to make them smoother, may now be sprayed on to the country's icy roads.

Mr Toni Kahlbacher, who makes snow-clearing equipment in Kitzbuhel in the Tyrol, thought of the solution while reading about

government difficulties in getting rid of the confiscated plonk. Instead of dismissing it as poisonous wine, he argued to the Ministry of Public Works, why not think of it as flavoured antifreeze?

"It sounded crazy at first but now we're convinced that it is an extremely interesting development," said Mr Hannes Drossler of the Ministry.

Although possession of the spiked wine is illegal, Mr Kahlbacher got hold of 8,000 litres, carried out experiments and then offered the ministry a prototype

spray. The mixture proved to have merits which could help to compensate Austria for the crippling of its wine industry.

Apart from its melting power at low temperatures — minus 28 Centigrade compared with minus six for salt alone — the spray appears to be much less environmentally harmful than salt on its own. It dilutes the corrosive effect of the salt on trees and verges and reduces contamination of the water table.

Laboratory tests are now to be followed by experimental use on

selected roads, to the delight of the Government, which had no idea what to do with its vats of impounded wine.

Scores of bankrupt vintners and dealers who were imprisoned for up to 10 years for fraud may find it small consolation but their product may also help the Austrian balance of payments.

The risk of the wine's bouquet exhilarating Austria's drivers to dangerous levels on icy nights is not thought to be high, although the spray will be tested in confined streets as well as country roads.

Nimrod — less than the whole truth

THE much-trailed decision has been announced: the Government has decided against the home-made Nimrod airborne early warning system and in favour of the American Awacs. The last ditch stand of Mr Jim Prior, the chairman of GEC which produces the Nimrod avionics, has been to no avail. Contracts are being cancelled. Jobs will be lost. Britain moves out of this highly specialised area of technology, and abandons the export potential of the proposed arrangement between GEC and Lockheed. It is indeed a sad day for our high-tech industrial base.

The Defence Secretary, Mr Younger, dressed up his statement to Parliament with much sadness and regret and tribute to GEC. It made no difference to the bottom line: his advice from his Ministry of Defence experts was unanimous; for him the ultimate decision was therefore not a difficult one. "This is a sad decision to have to take, but I have no doubt that it is the right one." He used the presently fashionable Tory defence language, from the paramountcy of the defence criteria to the military threat. It is as though in this single area of political decision-making the language of compromise so central to government is absent, as though here alone there are absolutes.

The absolute so much referred to in Mr Younger's statement was ASR400, the air

staff requirement. It was as though this had been handed down on a tablet of stone. The two systems had not been compared, stressed the Defence Secretary: they had each been compared with ASR400. Boeing matched up; Nimrod did not convince. This is all good, everyday defence staff-speak. It says that there are requirements, and that these must be met. End of debate.

Though Mr Younger never let on, this is, of course, far from reality. Defence staffs do not lay down requirements and get them. Compromise is as much a part of their world as it is of welfare, of taxation levels, or road building programmes. There is not a level of spending, or a level of performance, which provides complete defence, and is therefore approved. If defence staff "requirements" were holy writ then we would have more tanks and more ships. Defence is about matching desired objectives against economic and political reality. Mr Younger seemed to suggest that this was not the case.

Of course it is important that Britain has an aerial defence system which works, and if Nimrod was simply a hopeless, inefficient case then there would be no argument. But Mr Younger said again that Nimrod does work. The problem, he said, was a failure to achieve a consistent and reliable pattern of results, and his lack of confidence that this

could be achieved in the time GEC had stated. The emphasis was on the defence requirement during hostilities, as though a year or two was life and death. Yet the Shackletons now in use are already obsolescent, and the first Awacs will not be delivered until 1991. Again, Mr Younger was not giving all the facts in the House when he talked about cost. The supposedly sacrosanct defence requirement is for eight Awacs, costing £1060m. But the Defence Secretary announced the ordering of six, for £880m. He will see if he can afford the other two. So much for the "requirement".

Ultimately, the experts' views have been accepted as outweighing the cost to this country in jobs, technology, and exports. The decision has been taken after an enormous amount of money has been spent, and it has granted Boeing a worldwide monopoly which will earn them vast profits for decades to come. When the contracts with Boeing come to be signed he must make very sure that the offset arrangements, whereby Boeing spend £130 in this country for every £100 they are paid for their aircraft, is watertight. Otherwise those who lose their jobs as a result of last week's decision will have cause for bitterness. Mr Younger said job losses caused by Nimrod cancellation will be equalled or exceeded by new jobs through the Boeing offset arrangements. We shall see.

The onus is on the Americans

AFTER 500 days the self-imposed moratorium on nuclear testing by the Soviet Union may be about to end. That would not imply any worsening of relations between the superpowers, as the Soviet ambassador in Washington has tried to make clear; and there is still time for the US to start negotiations which, irrespective of whether it tests more weapons, would postpone a Soviet resumption. The stated object of successive Soviet leaders is that parity, nothing more, should exist between the two sides, and there is no reason to disbelieve that. Gorbachev is the first to put flesh on the dry bone by his startling proposals at Reykjavik in which parity would be maintained at a fraction of the present level. But the corollary is that if the United States is modernising its hardware (by going ahead, for example, with the mobile Midgetman missile) so must the USSR. Even if Gorbachev believes he has all the missiles at his command that any deterrent posture could require, he would still have to satisfy

the military that technical parity was being maintained.

The onus is on the US to make clear the grounds for its opposition to a comprehensive test ban. Reagan is the first President since Truman not to have paid at least lip-service to the idea. The first hurdle was verification. The Russians could not be trusted not to cheat. When seismologists began to say they could distinguish a Soviet test from an earthquake, and the Russians conceded something on inspection, the grounds changed. The Pentagon said that, verification or no, it needed to go on testing for military reasons. There may be truth in that. If indeed the weapon design of the 1970s relied on continued updating of the warheads. But the military reasons did not impress a majority in the House of Representatives, which voted 288-148 for negotiations on a ban, and 234-166 for a year's ban in any case. They do not impress the group of 25 Nobel laureates who publicly protested at the US position early this year. There is

no reason, therefore, why they should impress anybody else.

It seems more than smart PR when the Soviet ambassador says he understands the administration's reluctance to stop testing and therefore proposes a phased reduction instead. It is of a piece with the serious Soviet approach to divisive questions which reached its peak (so far) at Reykjavik. The assumption is that the administration's enthusiasm for repeated testing is to devise a nuclear motor for the laser weapons envisaged in the Star Wars programme.

Yet if the Russians were to compete in this field they would need such a motor too. If they are willing to renounce the proposition the US should do so too. For if there is any cheating on the Soviet side (which seismologists say they would detect) it would not be too late, even if it were regrettable, to start again. In this regard, as unfortunately in others, the American administration does not at present have much going for it.

Hard Lucca

ITALIANS have been agog at the spectacle of the squabbling contenders for the estate (which includes the rights from his opera) of Giacomo Puccini, who died 62 years ago. Claimant number one is the illegitimate daughter of Puccini's own illegitimate son, Antonio. Last year, after 12 years' litigation, she established her legal right to be known as Simonetta Puccini — and she is not going to let anyone come between her and the estate.

But she has a problem. When Antonio Puccini died in 1946, he left his father's money and property to his wife, a Milanese baroness. When she in turn died, without children, the Puccini estate went to her brother, the Baron Livio dell'Anna. Now the baron, a Riviera socialite, has died in a Milan hospice, bequeathing everything to no less a figure than his lifetime butler. So this latterday Figaro now becomes the owner not only of Puccini's possessions (including his villa at Torre de Lago in the Tuscan coastal pinewood) but of the rights to his opera including La Bohème, Tosca, Madame Butterfly, and Turandot. And, if that were not enough, a third claimant has now entered the competition. The Puccini Foundation, which thought it had the rights to Puccini's birthplace in Lucca and to the composer's villas and which exists to perpetuate his memory as a musician, is also anxious to protect itself against the granddaughter and the butler. As a result, a Lucca court has sequestered the entire contested estate, pending a final decision as to which of the three claimants should triumph.

It could make a Puccini opera, and it would not be the first time that the composer's extrovert lifestyle found itself influencing his work. Not so long ago, a production of Turandot in Glasgow transferred much of the action from Imperial Peking to Torre del Lago in order to point up the connections between Gozzi's cruel play on which the opera is based and the domestic scandal which engulfed Puccini in 1909, when his servant Doria Manfredi committed suicide after allegations of a relationship with the composer that went beyond the call of duty. But the most striking parallel is already there. Puccini's one about a recently deceased Florentine when they discover that he has willed his entire fortune to a monastery. They call in Schicchi, who agrees to impersonate the dead man and to dictate a new will, leaving the estate to the relatives. That isn't quite what Schicchi has in mind, of course, and he duly wills the valuables to himself, leaving the house to his daughter and her lover. Somehow, we suspect there may be a Gianni Schicchi alive and active in Lucca in 1986, too.

Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

Moscow television reported on December 19 the visit of a Politburo member (Mr Solomentsev) to Alma Ata, but without making any reference to the riots that had taken place in this city and which the Soviet media had covered the same morning. The disturbances, which it has now been confirmed caused several deaths, draw attention to the ways in which the new Soviet leadership's nationalities policy has been swept off course in the past year or so.

Ligachev may carry the can for riots in Kazakhstan

"WHENEVER a representative of Central Asia or Transcaucasia is portrayed on our screens, he is usually depicted as a coarse bumpkin speaking with an appalling accent and wearing a papakha (fur hat worn by easterners) or a stupid old-fashioned cap. He is most often depicted in the trade sector. In a funny piece — if one may put it that way — that appeared in our eminent Literaturnaya Gazeta, one writer even tried to sketch out a sort of arithmetical mean for an inhabitant of Central Asia and Transcaucasia."

This cri de coeur from the Armenian writer Petrosian Vergues last June about certain oversimplifications in the Soviet cinema, was only one of many protests that were made by participants at the Soviet Writers' Congress concerning the wider question of national minorities and the fate reserved for their cultures. Others condemned the monopoly exercised by Moscow in making decisions on national language issues, "the creeping tendency to reduce the population of local origin" in certain republics (in this particular case, Latvia, but the criticism is just as applicable to Kazakhstan), the dangers threatening local languages and so on. In the view of the recent disturbances in Alma Ata, these appeals appear to have been warnings, and it is clear they were not heeded.

For the nationalities policy seems to have gone off course following the change of leadership in 1985. The party programme adopted by the 27th Congress last March in fact introduced no fundamental changes in this area. On the one hand, it contains well-worn self-congratulatory statements proclaiming that the problem has been "successfully resolved", and that the objective aimed at is to "bring nations and ethnic groups ever closer together", indeed to ensure "their total unity". And, on the other, the programme also points out that it will be possible to reach this final goal only "in a distant historical perspective" and that care must be taken to avoid "any artificial acceleration" in a process that has to remain underpinned by "voluntary action, equality and brotherly

cooperation". But statements made at the party congress and elsewhere clearly showed that such an acceleration was under way on at least two points.

On the language issue, first, the emphasis has been on bringing Russian into general use both in education and in the army, which was already under Leonid Brezhnev considered to be the special crucible of homo sovieticus. Writing in the journal, Kommunist, last May, Academician Bromlei noted that the proportion of Soviet citizens claiming to speak Russian had risen from 76 to 82 per cent between 1970 and 1979, but he also pointed out that "in certain republics, young people today have

By Michel Tatu

a less firm grasp of this language than the average population." In his opinion, therefore, there was a need to promote "a further extension and qualitative improvement of the knowledge of Russian, especially in the rural zones of Central Asia, Transcaucasia and Estonia."

It is a situation which, in Central Asia especially, has led to the almost exclusive construction of Russian-language schools at the expense of the others. There are even more pronounced signs that the nationalities policy has gone off the rails in the movements of workers and management executives. The party programme is quite clear on this, since it provides for "promoting exchanges of management executives and specialists among republics, for widening and improving the training of skilled workers among citizens of all nationalities and ethnic groups." An apparently praiseworthy goal which in practice has resulted in speeding up Russianisation on the one hand, and uprooting local populations on the other.

It is no accident that the disturbances have taken place in Kazakhstan, the very republic which has served as a testing ground in recent years for conducting the policy of "intermingling management executives". Appointing a Russian, Gennadi V. Kolbin, who had never worked in Kazakhstan, to take the place of the dismissed 74-year-old Kazakh

leader, Dinmukhamed Kunayev, proved to be the last straw, though there was nothing very unusual about such a posting. Kunayev's three predecessors in the '80s were two Russians, Leonid Brezhnev and Nikolai Belayev, and a Byelorussian, Pantaleimon Ponomarenko.

Lower down in the 19 regions making up Kazakhstan, there are eight Russian first secretaries as against 10 Kazakhs. The most recent appointment has been of a German, Braun, as party leader in the virgin soils regions in place of a Russian. Doubtless in response to discreet pressure from Bonn, concessions have recently been made to the former Volga Germans who were deported by Stalin, about a million of whom are now living in Kazakhstan.

Kazakhs are not entitled to similar consideration, but the situation was scarcely different under Brezhnev. In 1981, there were seven Russian regional secretaries compared with 11 "nationals". At any rate, Kazakhstan had been and still is the least favoured of a nation than neighbouring Central Asian republics (only two Russians among Uzbekistan's 12 regional secretaries, for example; even the practice of making-sure Moscow has its eyes and ears local, as was organised and perfected under Stalin, is still in force everywhere. Wherever the party head is a local man, his immediate deputy is a Russian or some other Slav sent in by the central apparatus as a second secretary. The fact that Kolbin had already played a similar role in Georgia may well have added to the discontent in Alma Ata.

It should also be noted that the most enthusiastic promoter of the policy of "intermingling management executives" is not Mikhail Gorbachev, who has not said much on the subject, but the party's No 2 man, Yegor Ligachev, who oversees at the central secretariat the movements of personnel and therefore must have played a key role in naming Kolbin to head the party in Kazakhstan. Speaking about the Brezhnev period at the 27th Congress, Ligachev had in fact criticised "local and regionalist outlooks" which "prevented promoting representatives of all the nationalities to management posts, hampered the exchange of management executives among regions and the interchange of experienced government employees between republics and the centre."

Will the Alma Ata riots, announced so quickly by Tass, serve as a pretext for high-level discussions aimed at reshuffling posts, or even getting rid of Ligachev? Things will become clearer at the next plenary session of the central committee, which was postponed in November and has now been promised for the end of the year. It is all the more important, as the "management executives policy" — the very same one whose effects have been seen in Kazakhstan — is down on its agenda.

(December 21/22)

CHAD claimed at the weekend that Libya had lost more than 400 men, 17 tanks in a counter-attack by Chadians in the north of the country. The renewed fighting came as the US speeded up an emergency airlift of \$16 million in arms and ammunition to government forces in Chad. A statement issued by Chad's military command said that Libyan soldiers were routed at Bardai in the rugged northern Tibesti mountains by followers of former rebel leader, Mr Goukouni Oueddei, who until recently was backed by Tripoli. Libya has denied any involvement in the Chad fighting.

Gadafy takes a beating in Chad

AT MINOR political and military

cost to itself — for now, anyway — France has reassured its support for the government of Hissène Habré while reminding Colonel Moubar Goukouni Oueddei that in fact suffered a major setback since the defection of northern Chad. The air drop of supplies in the Tibesti hills carried out on the night of December 16/17 by two Transall aircraft does however amount to much more than giving "humanitarian" aid to the Touhou people who have been suffering from the exactions of the Libyan army. Apart from supplies of food and blankets, anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons have been airlifted to troops who have re-

halt the Libyan advance.

There is no certainty, however, that the "signal" sent to the Libyan leader will be sufficient to make him desist. Colonel Goukouni Oueddei's followers, who have opened two fronts — in Tibesti and Ennedi, in the very heart of a zone considered as a Libyan buffer by Tripoli.

In this way Paris has made it clear that the strategy of trying to negotiate with Tripoli, which until only a few weeks ago the prime minister's office only half believed in, has now been dropped. France today considers that its Arab partners themselves are in a position to draw a distinction between its Middle East policy and its army's intervention in Chad that has been made necessary by its historic ties with Africa and Colonel Goukouni Oueddei's behaviour. At any rate, Paris could not, without forfeiting the advantages of its Operation Sperruhrhauk, turn a deaf ear to Hissène Habré's appeals for help relayed by several African heads of state.

Two plane loads of supplies obviously do not fulfil the Chadian President's expectations. At the very most it gives the Chadian fighters in Tibesti a breathing space, and it is now up to N'Djamena's army to do the rest.

There remains the question whether this help will be sufficient for the Chadian leader to successfully win back the northern part of his territory, which in all probability he will never be prepared to write off. For the moment, Habré, who likes to compare himself and his men to Afghan resistance fighters, seems to think the West is giving enough aid to help them avert defeat, but not enough to permit victory. The recent air drops do prove, though, that France has not finished with its commitment in Chad and that other moves can be expected.

(December 19)

'Patients used for Aids vaccine experiments'

By Franck Nouchi

A FRANCO-ZAIREAN scientific team, based in Kinshasa and headed by Professor Daniel Zagury of the Pierre-et-Marie-Curie University in Paris, is said to be currently testing a vaccine against acquired-immune-deficiency syndrome (Aids) on HTLV3 positive human beings. The substance used would appear to be extracts of the Aids virus membrane capable of stimulating the body's immune system, which the researchers hope will protect the patients against the appearance of the disease.

So it is not strictly speaking a vaccine, but a therapeutic method likely to prevent patients exposed to the Aids virus from developing the disease. The disclosure of these experiments, made by the New York Times, following on the heels of rumours suggesting that "unauthorised" vaccination tests were being conducted in Zaire, has left the scientific community puzzled. The first point: it is not a vaccine against Aids, since the few people said to be taking part in the tests

have already been infected by the disease, whereas a vaccine protects a healthy person against the appearance of a disease.

For his experiments, which appear to make use of the virus membrane, Professor Zagury is either collecting the infected patient's lymphocytes — and this is the most probable guess — and activating them in vitro with extracts of the virus's membrane, after which all that remains is to reinject the reactivated lymphocytes back into the patient; or he is quite simply injecting extracts from membranes directly.

The tests, on a limited number of patients, are reported to have been conducted since September in the greatest of secrecy, but with the permission of the Zairean health authorities.

Dr Jonathan Mann, the World Health Organisation expert in charge of the agency's Aids programme, told me he was not aware of the tests.

Continued on page 13

Poems as a defence against the gulag horror

IRINA Ratushinskaya, who arrived in London from Moscow last week, looks frail for a woman of 32 and in ill health. But she is a formidable personality who, during years of harsh imprisonment, has derived strength from a belief in God and in herself as a poet of extraordinary power.

In rejecting her, the Soviet authorities have shown that even in the comparatively enlightened Gorbachev era, an idiosyncratic creative talent is something "the system" simply cannot cope with. It is not that they don't love and honour their poets. Some of the biggest statues in Soviet cities are of poets — usually from pre-revolutionary times — and volumes of poetry are regularly bestsellers. But Stalin played his part in Mayakovsky's suicide and Mandelstam's death in a labour camp, and Pasternak and Akhmatova were intermittently harassed and denigrated until their deaths in 1960 and 1966 respectively. Poets under Soviet rule have often died early, and often by their own hand.

Ratushinskaya was arrested in September 1982 and released last October. From a small and cluttered flat in the Ukrainian capital, Kiev, she went no fewer than 16 times to the visa office to haggle with obdurate bureaucrats and remove the obstacles to her departure for London.

She met obduracy with persistence and perseverance. One sticking point has been her determination that she and her husband, Igor Geraschenko, keep their Soviet citizenship. "We can and must defend human rights by doing this," she said the other day. "It will be very difficult to leave the country and very difficult to return. I don't know if they will let me."

Her wish to commute between exile and her homeland — she was, like Anna Akhmatova, born near Odessa — testifies to the roots of her talent. What resources she will draw upon once she is, as it were, settled in the West, remain unquantifiable. But it would seem very probable that the end results could be very different in character from what has gone before.

But whatever comes next, her reputation is assured, and by common consent she is ranked as one of the most "natural" poets of her generation. Her trouble, as with so many square pegs in Soviet holes, was her irrepressible energy as well as her originality. It was characteristic when she was reading physics at Odessa University and during a brief spell as a lecturer, that she gained much pleasure from writing humorous sketches for student theatre groups.

It was equally in character that she gravitated to the Polish (gen-

try) side of her family rather than anything Soviet in her earlier life; that she rejected socialism in favour of Catholicism; and finally that she turned away from humorous writing to a more introspective poetry.

In 1972, aged 18, she was apparently recognised by the security authorities as a dissident element. In that year, the KGB

Michael Simmons on the poet whom the Soviet authorities have allowed to visit the West for medical treatment

asked her to become an informer. She refused, but she became a marked woman. By 1977, she was being closely interrogated for "anti-Soviet attitudes."

About this time, too, she realised that the urge — "vocation" is Igor's word — to write poetry was inescapable, as inescapable as what she saw as the unacceptability of the Soviet way of life and the harassment that had become their lot. Applications to leave the country in 1980 — the last rigid phase of the Brezhnev era — did nothing to help their cause, nor did participation in a human rights demonstration in the centre of Moscow in 1981.

For a while it seemed that appeals might save them. She and her husband were recruited to help

in the 1982 harvest in the Kiev area, but the people who recruited them were not what they seemed, and evidence from *shabashniki* (casual workers) around them was enough to have her arrested.

By the evening of the same day, Igor says, she was being accused of "an especially serious state crime: the writing of poems." Indeed she had been told by the KGB head office (no less) in mid-1981 that her verses were a threat to the security of the Soviet Union. Her charge, when she was tried in March 1983, was "manufacture and dissemination of poems," and "anti-state agitation and propaganda."

The word "slander" came up 160 times during the trial, but Irina declined to join in the proceedings because, she claimed, she could not choose her own lawyer. Even so, she was found guilty — not least, of "an unenthusiastic way of thinking" — and sentenced to seven years' hard labour to be followed by five years' internal exile, a total term which would have been completed in 1995.

Her physical sufferings and her physical deterioration, during imprisonment can only be imagined. She had been something of a fitness fanatic in her time — a keen hiker, a powerful long-distance swimmer, an adroit table tennis player. She lost more than three stones in weight, contracted

high blood pressure and a kidney disease so acute that a year ago there were fears she would not survive.

She had her head shaved, was beaten, force-fed, and placed in solitary confinement in often freezing conditions. There was almost no medical treatment and no family visits.

But still, astonishingly, the poetry flowed, even during a four-month spell in solitary. In all, during four years in prison there were more than 250 poems. Occasionally, pen and paper were available, when they were not, the verse was scratched on to bars of soap with a matchstick, committed to memory, and then washed away down the sink.

Irina says the writing was "not difficult." God, it seems, and the sense of vocation made it easier. The difficult part was memorising all 250 of them and, in the mind, indexing them and the precise time when they were written. Each poem notionally marked extra time on her sentence. That could be lived with — the fact that she, and therefore, the poetry might be forgotten, could not.

Asked why she was finally released, she said perhaps it was something to do with the efforts by the Gorbachev administration to democratise. "But," she added, "I would not call it a humanitarian gesture, more a kind of show."



The Government has accepted the report of a national committee on in vitro fertilisation (see page 14). P. Nouchi's cartoon shows Interior Minister P. Nouchi as the doctor.

Why we need AFP

The head of Agence France Presse, Mr Henri Pigeat, resigned on Thursday after prolonged criticism from journalists who immediately called off their week-long strike. The agency lost \$6.8 million last year despite shedding 140 of its 2,000 staff. Further severe job cuts demanded by management have been frozen.

THE CRISIS, perhaps fatal, which has silenced the French news agency, Agence France-Presse, over the past week is not a mere social conflict brought on by financial difficulties.

For the most part ignored by the public, and frequently treated with condescension by political leaders, AFP is not only the main organ of the French press, it is also one of the major sources of news for the whole world. Neither a machine for transmitting raw copy — such a thing has never existed — nor an instrument for disseminating official communiqués, a worldwide news agency is a very complex combination of men and technical infrastructures whose aim is as simple as it is ambitious — report as honestly and as quickly as

COMMENT

possible what is happening on our planet. Not only transmit information, but also go in search of it and provide the maximum of elements likely to help the reader in forming his own judgment.

Four Western agencies have this ambition, and until now only one of them is French. And yet, it is not "the voice of France". Nothing would be more damaging than to set out to defend AFP by invoking this argument which cuts both ways. The agency has already suffered far too much by being identified sometimes as a government mouthpiece.

But AFP is necessary for France as for the rest of the world because it has a universal calling. It has its weaknesses. But exclusive dependence on American agencies — AP and UPI (the latter is also endangered) — and a British agency (Reuters), for which information strictly speaking is only a secondary aspect of its activities, increases the risk of being mistaken on, or completely overlooking, certain events particularly in the Third World.

If AFP disappears or, which is more probable, if it is reduced to the status of a mere subcontractor, a "national" agency, it would have very special consequences for France. Government departments and embassies would quickly regret it. Radio-France Internationale would not have very much to do, and French newspapers — not just those which have few or no correspondents in the world — would be poorer. What is even worse, the French, who are not nearly keen about what is happening in the world outside, would be likely to become even more introverted.

The causes of the dispute are complex, and responsibility for it is doubtless shared. There is a question of financing, and this concerns the State. There is also a question of people. Questionable decisions need to be reviewed, and certain corporatist and psychological barriers must be removed. But the stake is much too important not to do everything possible to overcome these difficulties — and very quickly.

(December 18)

"I believe you have just heard the programme of the Minister of the Interior for the coming weeks," said Charles Pasqua on Monday, December 15, at the end of a radio programme in which he was taking part. The minister announced several decisions. First, the suspension — as a "conservatorial measure" — of Sergeant Schmitt, the leader of the "peloton voltigeur motocycliste" (acrobatic motorcycle squad) whose members are suspected of having assaulted a 22-year-old student, Malik Ousekine, who later died. Next the seizure of a television film sequence, entitled "Les Casseurs", which was shown on December 7.

Thirdly, the minister announced he planned to take action against the daily Communist Party organ L'Humanité and its editor-in-chief, Claude Cabanes, whom he accused of having suggested that police agent provocateurs were present among the student demonstrators.

HOW WAS Yves Chalié, the principal defendant and plaintiff in the Carrefour du Développement case, able to elude justice for over six months? Why was he found carrying a passport issued in the name of Yves Navaro which had been prepared by the DST? Why was he helped, backed up and advised by French police officers in his flight in Latin America? How and why could a man, today accused of misappropriating public funds, making use of forgeries, breach of trust and theft, benefit from such solidarity?

It is these simple questions, based on precise facts, that magistrates, police officers and journalists are asking as they conduct investigations inquiring into this shady business. Now Charles Pasqua, interviewed on the radio station Europe 1 on Monday, December 15, refused to answer any of them. Yet, by the very fact of his position, the Interior Minister should be able to throw some light on the matter. The "genuine-but-fake" passport was concocted by a DST department. The main police officer accused by Yves Chalié, formerly chief secretary of Cooperation Minister Christian Nucci's ministerial office under the Socialist government, is Jacques Delebois, head of the international police cooperation service who is politically close to Pasqua. Like all his predecessors, the head of the DST, Bernard Gérard, who was appointed to his job after the March 16 general election, is closely dependent on the Minister of the Interior himself.

So Pasqua does not want to say anything. He accepts his responsibilities, but refuses to offer any explanations. His counterattack is contradictory. "If any explanations are to be asked, they must be asked from me and no one else," he retorts, adding immediately: "I have nothing more to say. I am under the obligation of respecting secrecy." When asked about the order sent to the DST to produce a "genuine-but-fake" passport for a man for whom an arrest warrant had been issued, he an-

EVERY DETAIL of the circumstances in which Yves Chalié fled from France early in May this year and went into hiding in Brazil, where he was helped by friends of Controller General Jacques Delebois, has been known since November 21 to the magistrate, Jean-Pierre Michau, who is investigating the Carrefour du Développement case. On November 21, Chalié told the whole story during a hearing that lasted over eight hours in the office of the investigating magistrate.

The report summarising the hearing runs to no less than 23 pages crammed with details and disclosures. The magistrate has not completed checking all its details, but court sources say he is already certain that the flight of the former head of Christian Nucci's ministerial office was in fact engineered from start to finish from Paris by several police officers who kept a "top man" posted on it.

According to the story he told the magistrate, Chalié's troubles began during April 1986 when an investigation initiated at the request of the Cour des Comptes

Time for Pasqua to throw light on Carrefour scandal

By Georges Marlon and Edwy Plenel

sured: "The DST did its duty." Does this mean the DST's duty was to help him flee? Chalié (he confirmed this to the investigating magistrate) has never been a French counter-intelligence operative. Pushed into a corner, the minister said he "didn't know" what the situation was on this particular point: "You know nothing of it and I don't either; it may well be yes, it may well be no."

Pasqua had no other answer: no, he had not ordered that the passport be issued to Chalié. That is why he announced his intention of suing for libel following Le Monde's publication of its investigation. But — and this is a new paradox — he explained that the DST head "only did his job". In other words, while he refuses to accept responsibility for his subordinate's action, he neither disavows nor criticises it. Better still, he tags it "a defence secret". But then he would have to tell us where "defence" comes into a case which, until proved otherwise, has nothing to do with spying or terrorism.

Court sources say that Investigating Magistrate Michau is convinced Chalié was helped in his escape by Delebois, who referred the matter to a superior at a very high level, a "top man". That conviction is based on a lengthy hearing of Chalié who gave details of his escapade. His revelations showed the extent of the support Chalié had in his flight and how it was managed.

The passport in question is a key element in the case since it provides the material proof of a link between the fleeing man and the police. All the investigators who have had access to the files have

Pasqua was next questioned at length on the Carrefour du Développement case, and especially on the part of the case concerning the issue of a "genuine-but-fake" passport concocted by the DST (Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire — counter-intelligence service), and the refusal, on the grounds it was a "defence secret", by the head of the DST, Bernard Gérard, to testify on the matter before the investigating magistrate, Jean-Pierre Michau. He then announced he would file a libel suit against Le Monde's Georges Marlon and Edwy Plenel, who conducted an investigation that concluded that the "genuine-but-fake" passport was issued with the permission of the Minister of the Interior. Pasqua also invoked "defence secrets" in refusing to answer questions on this subject. But he denied the information and accused Le Monde's reporters of conducting a "destabilisation" operation.

no doubt at all that Gérard had the passport prepared on a request from the Interior Ministry. An oral request, without a trace in writing. An request about which nothing was said to Robert Pandraud, junior Minister responsible for Public Safety and working under Pasqua. The passport was prepared in July and the task was given to the DST's technical subdivision under Jean-Pierre Brut. Though the members of this department who did not know for whom the passport was intended, they nevertheless recognised Chalié from the photo which was passed on to them. They were not particularly upset, but they made a note of it and let the fact be known.

There remains the form, which in this case is also the substance, of the debate that Pasqua has initiated with his customary vigour. He appears to suggest that any journalistic investigation of special services — such as an anti-terrorist unit at the Elysée, the DGSE and the DST — is a "destabilisation" operation. In other words, the public has no right to be told the truth, even part of the truth, about this shadowy world. Untouchable and above suspicion, this world may not be questioned or — how can you avoid adding? — controlled.

Pasqua's counterattack is reminiscent of Charles Hernu's reaction in the Greenpeace case. Confronted by the questions journalists asked and the information they had in their possession, the former Socialist Defence Minister's only answer was to condemn the "treachery" of a campaign attacking the "nuclear chain". In that case either, there was no written

proof that a "third team" existed and that Hernu had given the go-ahead for the Rainbow Warrior sabotage. Two realities that nobody questions today. By refusing to offer any explanations, Hernu managed to lose his job.

La this tendency to feel aggrieved peculiar to the French political class whether of the left or the right? In the light of the public hearings on the "Irangate" scandal in the United States, one is inclined to think so.

In the Greenpeace case, the DGSE "destabilised" itself without outside help by being caught red-handed in an unfortunate operation carried out on government orders. In the Carrefour du Développement case, the DST has not however been "destabilised" by a "genuine-but-fake" passport.

Several senior officers of this department find fault with their superior, Gérard, for having got them into this mess through his inexperience. They make no secret of their belief that calm will return to the DST if Gérard reveals to the investigating magistrate a "secret" which is not one of theirs and which has nothing to do with the objectives of their service.

True, the Carrefour du Développement case is primarily a politico-financial scandal. Men have made use of the State's authority in financial deals for private or partisan ends. The scandal has nudged a former Socialist minister and a former Christian Nucci nor Guy Pénne has so far been charged. But Delebois has, because of the determination of a judge, and not at his own request, as he claims.

For the case within the case as serious. Political officials are suspected of having orchestrated the first scandal, manipulated the plaintiff, offered disclosures to the public in dribs and drabs. They would appear to have utilised their administration, the authority the state confers on them, the secrets and privileges specific to the police and the special services, for partisan purposes.

(December 17)

How the secret service helped a

By Georges Marlon and Edwy Plenel

him to the Gare du Nord where he took the Trans-Europe Express for the Belgian capital. One of the men was Commander Espinet, a uniformed police officer from the International Police Technical Cooperation Service (SCTIP), of which Delebois was the head.

On May 25, Dr Chiarelli, a friend of Julien's, flew to Paris carrying two envelopes. One contained the famous report, the other photographs of Chalié for making false identity documents as well as a letter intended for Delebois. "In one of his telephone calls," Chalié informed the judge, "Delebois told me Dr Chiarelli would have no problems at Raissy and that someone would be there to meet him." The promise was kept.

Meanwhile in Paris the scandal was growing with revelations appearing in the press. Figaro-Magazine caused a sensation on July 26 by publishing an interview that its reporter Jean-Pax Mefret had with Yves Chalié in Asunción, Paraguay. Chalié claims the meeting was planned down to the last detail by Jacques Delebois: "Towards the end of June, he told me I should go to Paraguay in July from the 7th to the 16th. He told me I

place, where Delebois telephoned him several times to ask him to write a report on the Carrefour du Développement association.

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FREMANTLE — French Kiss, France's entry in the 28th America's Cup challenge, will compete with the first-placed New Zealand in the semi-finals starting on December 28. For the first time in 135 years, there will be no New York Yacht Club entry in the competition, and this despite the syndicate having set up its training base in Fremantle on October 1, 1984 and poured more than \$15 million into the venture, with the help of Cadillac and Newsweek magazine, for building three boats which were made available to the young Texan helmsman John Kollus for winning back the world's oldest trophy that it lost to the Australians in 1983. The NYCC entry, America II, was eliminated. It finished 15 seconds behind New Zealand on Sunday. Marc Pajot, who skippers French Kiss, which with 129 points was fourth in the last of the preliminary eliminating rounds, talked about the racing.

Eleven Frenchmen show they can become a team

Question: The preparation and preliminary races of the America's Cup are said to have changed you into a cold monster. Is this true?

Pajot: I'm living through something that is intensely interesting and all-absorbing, but I haven't changed. We finished the first round robin in eighth place and everybody ticked us off severely without trying to find out why.

We've had no experience in this kind of competition racing and most of our training was done in France with a single boat and no partner to run against. Then, in addition, the first few runs were in light weather, which wasn't suitable for French Kiss. It was far from ideal compared with America II or New Zealand, which got a head start by training with the Australians over the course during the past year.

You had doubts then?

Success in competition is often the result of a balance between doubt and confidence in oneself. Doubt is essential in striving for progress. Our team reappraises itself every morning and its great strength has been its capacity to adapt to the problems that have arisen. After the first round robin we told ourselves there were three boats that couldn't be touched and a fourth place in the semi-finals for another was programmed in advance. I have personally always thought so and today we have improved enormously to come up to the level of the four best. There's only one boat against which we feel powerless — New Zealand. But how long will it remain out of reach?

So French Kiss's qualification is just one stage?

It's already a success. At Newport, the Americans used to say: 11

fugitive to escape

had to give an interview to a journalist and explained that the interview was going to help in negotiations with Guy. I thought he meant Guy Pénne (President Mitterrand's former adviser on African affairs). He told me I had to accuse Nucci and say what I knew about Guy Pénne.

Following these instructions, Chalié went to Paraguay. He arrived in Asunción on July 11. "Under my real name," he pointed out. He checked in at the Excelsior Hotel, and later — on Delebois's instructions — at the Gurrani Hotel, where at 2 pm on July 15 he met the Figaro Magazine reporter in the hotel lobby. Recognition signals had been prearranged: Mefret showed one of Chalié's photos that had been sent to Paris for making up a false passport.

Returning to Brazil and armed with his false passport, which was brought to him from France by Arnaldo Campana, former police chief of the State of Rio, Chalié got ready to pursue a new career in import-export. But soon, everything went awry. Early in October, Brazilian police, informed by French justice which had succeeded

Frenchmen on a 12-metre J1, that's still 11 Frenchmen. Eleven Americans, that's a team. Today, there are men and organisations in France — I think, for example, of the new sailing organisation — to meet the challenge. Qualifying (for the semi-finals) is already a success for all these people, but this is still not our goal. No team here will be satisfied with just qualifying. Our aim is still to win the America's Cup.

Along with the American Dennis Conner and the Australian Ian Murray, you are one of the few skippers to be also manager and helmsman rolled into one. Isn't that presumptuous for a first experience?

By Gérard Albouy

To get this venture off the ground in France, a leader was needed in the sailing field to conceive and promote the project. True, we had to work hard on several fronts during two years. But today, everybody has his place in an organisation that is more horizontal than vertical, with units looking after sailing tactics, computer calculations, and financing. From the moment the races started, I have been able to concentrate wholly on the boat and the crew. I shall in due course give my report on this, too, but I believe my organisation has been good.

Were you inspired by men or by principles in accepting this challenge? Like John Bertrand and the Australians in 1983, you would appear to be convinced that from now on victory requires research and innovation.

I hadn't read John Bertrand's book "And the Kangaroo Dived the Eagle" before I accepted the challenge, but like him I was convinced that from now on victory requires research and innovation.

New Zealand has an undeniable edge especially when sailing close-hauled. With their keel made of composite material, the New Zealand team opted for a solution we had considered with the Beneteau yard, but we couldn't take it any further for lack of time and also perhaps financial means. This wasn't the case with the New

Zealanders, who announced an open-ended budget and were more over on their third boat. If we stay at our present level, we could not think of beating them over seven races, but at the moment we're speaking five engineers are working over here. We meet every morning to consider what we could do after the third round robin.

And the Americans, are they also dangerous?

They are the ones with the best potential navigators for this run, especially with their four Olympic gold medalists in the six Olympic series at Los Angeles. The biggest surprise of the round robin was America II's elimination, despite the experience and the enormous organisational machinery of the New York Yacht Club.

Dennis Conner had the fastest boat in the wind up to the second round robin, but since then he has moved forward in light breezes and at healthy speeds. He is ten times

more experienced than us, but we've no inhibitions in taking him on.

The first finned keel was brought to public notice with the Australian success in 1983. Will victory in 1987 go to the first 12-metre J1 built of composite materials?

It's always easy to generalise, even to focus on a technical aspect. It is far more difficult to analyse men and explain the relationship problems and the psychological pressures generated by a competition such as the America's Cup. The Australians had a very good skipper, a very good crew, very good sails, a very good hull and under that a remarkable finned keel. No doubt the New Zealanders and a few others have the same. The great difficulty of the America's Cup is in analysing and moving forward all these parameters while ensuring that not a single one lags behind.

(December 18)

Aids vaccine 'experiments' on patients

Continued from page 11

of the experiments: "If it turns out that such experiments are in fact being conducted, then I can assure you it is without the knowledge of the World Health Authority. Besides, I got in touch immediately with the Zairian authorities and asked for clarification."

Apart from Professor Zagury, Kinshasa University's Dr Lurhuma is said to be taking part in the work. It is impossible at this stage to say whether the immunisation experiments have been made with the patients' consent. It is obviously a very important point in so far as, once again, one cannot judge beforehand the effectiveness or danger of such a method. The immunisation attempts appear to have been preceded by other experiments at the Villavieille primate centre (on the outskirts of Paris).

In all probability, the results will not be known for several months. Questioned by the New York Times, Dr Zagury is reported to have refused to say anything as he was "under oath to the government of Zaire" not to disclose any information on his research until the results are published in an international scientific journal. The newspaper adds that tests may also have been conducted in a second country.

The ethical questions raised by such testing are obvious. Does one have the right to take the risk of sacrificing people who might have remained seropositive (without actually contracting the disease) for many more years? Were they even told what kind of "treatment" they were being given?

Finally, it has to be said that Dr Zagury's work is far from wholly conclusive, according to the Aids

experts to whom I have spoken. At any rate, not conclusive enough for him to take the risk of performing such experiments.

It may be pointed out that other attempts to develop a vaccine have obtained some promising results. Recently, for example, a team headed by Dr Robert Gallo of the National Cancer Institute in Bethesda succeeded in isolating a protein of the virus membrane which, injected into animals, triggered the growth of antibodies that overwhelmed the virus. This protein fragment, which will probably help in the preparation of a vaccine, will shortly be tested on chimpanzees.

Other teams, including the Pasteur-Vaccin team in France in conjunction with the firm Transgene, are also working on developing such a vaccine.

(December 19)



French Kiss at speed.

WERE He still alive, the members of the ARC would no doubt have co-opted the composer Erik Satie, who said: "I love simplicity in art as I do in cuisine." For simplicity is their rallying cry. But tradition is also important. Christianse Massia's menu sets out her credo in black and white: "We have simply consulted our grandmothers, a few fishermen and some old recipe books."

Not surprisingly, nouvelle cuisine finds little favour in the ARC's eyes. Simone Lemaire calls it "spineless and arty", though she is willing to admit, with her friends, that it has had a positive effect by encouraging chefs to give greater importance to vegetables, and to provide lighter, less indigestible fare, notably through such techniques as steaming.

"But I do wish they'd stop inventing new dishes!" she says. "They've overreached themselves. There was a time when people went specially to Fernand Point's restaurant just to sample his foie gras en broches or Mère Brazier's to enjoy her poulette demi-deuil. It's quite sufficient for one to invent four or five dishes in a lifetime."

"I'm against restaurants that totally change their menus every year. A chef should always have a basic repertoire consisting of dishes he is capable of executing to perfection. That's what customers want — and what makes them come back again and again."

Massia began 20 years ago with only three main courses on her menu. She has since enlarged her palette, but wishes to invent for the sake of inventing. Her grilles de canard au vinaigre de miel (thin slices of duck with honey-flavoured vinegar) have a very nouvelle cuisine air about them, but the recipe is a medieval one.

"Nouvelle cuisine is terribly labour-intensive," she says. "Think of the way vegetables tend to be served, for example in a pyramid of rounds topped by a solitary pea. You have to remember, too, that the whole structure could only have been put together manually. That's already enough to put me off my food. In my restaurant, once

Women who say it's time to get back in the kitchen

By Michel Castaing

The 18th-century handbook, *Bréviaire des Gastronomes*, contains the following advice: "The woman cook whom you engage should be neither too young nor too old: be she too old, she will fall asleep; be she too young, her mind will be on other things."

Attitudes to women chefs have certainly changed since then, but not that much — which is why the *Association des Restauratrices-Cuisinières* (ARC) came into being 11 years ago. Furious at being refused membership of the *Société des Cuisiniers* simply because they are female, a group of well-known women chefs formed the ARC at the suggestion of Robert Courtine (who writes in *Le Monde* as La Reynière).

The aims of the association are "to defend and promote women's cooking" and to make known French culinary traditions abroad. Although they keep a lower profile in the media than their male colleagues, ARC members are very well known in international gastronomic circles.

In the last 11 years ARC members have succeeded in breaking down many of the sexist barriers that are rife in the notoriously misogynist world of catering. But they note "that many hotel and restaurant owners, under a variety of pretexts, are still reluctant to take on

food is cooked it is never touched by human hand."

Marie-Françoise Lachaud admits that nouvelle cuisine chefs make food look decorative on the plate, but wishes the portions were not so pocket-sized: "One shouldn't be forced to order a dessert because one is still hungry."

What, in their opinion, are the other distinguishing marks of women's cuisine? "It's less aggressive: women prefer to cook at lower temperatures and are less fond of grilling and flaming." They are more interested in spontaneity and naturalness than in aesthetic considerations, more concerned to convince and to please than to bask in their own glory. "When a male chef sees customers to the door at the end of a meal," says Lemaire, "he's wondering if

they think he's a good cook. A woman chef will be asking herself if they're satisfied and contented."

Women chefs — and especially those celebrated guardians of local culinary traditions, the "mères lyonnaises" — have ensured the survival of regional cooking. Lachaud, who gets all her produce direct from Brittany, is the fourth in line of professional women cooks who handed down their regional recipes from generation to generation. "My great-grandmother used to cater for local high society. In those days, you entertained at home, not in restaurants. She used to do all the cooking for vast numbers of guests."

Massia has a particularly long list of suppliers, and not just in southwest France. She gets her baby monkfish from Brittany, tiny

women, and that, when they do, they give them mental serving or cleaning jobs. Some catering schools have ingeniously got round the problem of finding jobs for their graduates: they admit only male pupils.

In a typical case, a male-chauvinist Breton restaurateur agreed to take on as trainees two graduates from a catering school (which admits women) after satisfying himself on paper that they were sufficiently qualified. The two applicants, Dominique X. and Claude Y., duly turned up, but did not have time to unpack their suitcases before being packed off back home by the restaurateur, who had forgotten that "Dominique" and "Claude" are girls' names as well as boys'.

But what exactly is the "cuisine de femme" that the ARC is trying to promote? Has it anything to do with the nouvelle cuisine? To find out, Michel Castaing talked to three active members of the association, Simone Lemaire, its honorary president, and two Paris chefs, Christiane Massia of L'Aquitaine (which specialises in the cuisine of southwest France and has a star in the *Michelline Guide*) and Marie-Françoise Lachaud of the Breton restaurant Ty Coz.

asparagus from the Vosges, and wild leeks and fairy ring mushrooms from other parts of the country.

"As far as the vegetables I've just mentioned are concerned," she says, "they are things you can't get hold of through normal catering channels. But they enable one to keep alive certain old regional recipes of the kind that are all too often looked down on by men. Most male chefs would feel it beneath their dignity to make, for instance, a farci poitevin (a kind of stuffed cabbage)."

The two watchwords of the ARC, simplicity and tradition, do not prevent women cooks from being inventive, even if world-famous chef Paul Bocuse once claimed the has apparently since changed his mind that women show "no imagi-

nation in the kitchen".

Christiane Massia does not care, anyway: "I try to appeal to the taste buds and the belly, not to the imagination, with straightforward, rustic, but nevertheless magical words like *fricassée*, *blanquette*, *matelote*, *marmite*, *potée* and so on. And something cooked 'en cocotte' is somehow appetising, isn't it?"

Colette once said: "There is no point in taking up cooking unless you are capable of a little witchcraft." But too much verbal incantation can be a bad thing: women chefs seem much more willing than their male counterparts to go for simplicity not only in the kitchen but in the way they formulate their menus.

Simone Lemaire gave me some examples: "A woman will propose a salad with croutons", a man "a little autumn salad with hazelnut oil and toasted country bread". A woman will call a salad of pheasant and lentils by its name, a man will do it up as "lentil salad with pheasant aiguillettes dressed with vinegared olive oil". Surely most people know what a crouton is — or that a salad contains oil and vinegar? Massia once saw a preposterously named dish which ended with the words: "with toast in a napkin".

At opposite poles to this extreme literalness, but just as bad, is an over-mysterious and esoteric approach aimed at aweing customers or making them feel important.

"Some menus call starters 'gastronomic prefaces'," says Lachaud. "I've nothing against a bit of humour, though. I once called called a dish 'boudoir de Capitaine' (a reference to the Hervé comic-strip character Tintin's friend). But I don't like keep alive certain old regional recipes of the kind that are all too often looked down on by men. Most male chefs would feel it beneath their dignity to make, for instance, a farci poitevin (a kind of stuffed cabbage)."

Simone Lemaire put the whole problem in a nutshell: "Nowadays a lot of young chefs write out their menus before they've even learnt how to cook."

uniqueness, specificity and freedom."

The committee has set a three-year limit on the moratorium, a period which it hopes will enable researchers to better pinpoint the consequences of genetic research — research involving the removal of micro-particles of cells or embryonic nuclei and the analysis of the genetic characteristics of such cells.

It has also drawn up a list of research areas which it thinks should be banned. They concern in particular all research aimed at artificially modifying human genes which are handed down from generation to generation; research aimed at transplanting embryos between man and animal; research towards making male pregnancy possible; and research on parthenogenesis or full in vitro gestation.

Examining the question of female egg preservation, the committee considered the unknown factors involved here are such that they forbid the transplantation of embryos obtained by this technique.

(December 18)

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The Washington Post

Ronald Reagan — A Political Obituary

WHEN President Reagan rededicated the Statue of Liberty in a blaze of light and celebratory fireworks last July 3, he seemed to personify the American nation, which he described that night in Lincoln's words as "hope for the world, future for all time."

In a week of tall ships and remembrances of patriotic past, Reagan captured the imagination of a nation accustomed to his heroic turn of phrase and reassuring ways. A romanticized portrait of Reagan appeared on the cover of Time magazine the following week accompanied by a caption that asked, "Why is this man so popular?" The cover story described Reagan as "a Prospero of American memories, a magician who carries a bright, ideal America like a hologram in his mind and projects its image in the air."

All the glitter is gone now, all the magic lost.

"People had this heroic image of Reagan in their minds — a Reagan who quips when he is shot and stands up to the Russians," says a Republican student of the presidency. "Everything about the Iran arms deal seems both un-American and un-Reagan. Dealing with the people who burned our flag. Deceiving the American people. Helping the Ayatollah. It didn't fit with the American image of Reagan. In academic terms it was cognitive dissonance in the extreme."

The betrayal seemed greater because the betrayer was Reagan, who had spent 50 years insinuating himself into the national consciousness as a believable character who was America's best version of itself. Reagan was identified with baseball, football and Hollywood. He was "The Gipper" who gave his life for Notre Dame and country, a governor who stood up to rioting students, a president who restored the nation's patriotic identity and celebrated heroism.

Then the symbolmaster threw it all away in an escapade so preposterous in its premises and implications that Hollywood would never accept the script. The president who had promised that America would "never again" bow to dictators or yield to terrorism was revealed as doing secret business with the representatives of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Suddenly, superimposed on the blaze of light with which Ronald Reagan had illuminated the Statue of Liberty was a remembered image of a burning American flag in Tehran.

Now that Ronald Reagan has been restored to human dimensions, what do we make of his presidency? What lessons does the man who only a few months ago seemed to have discovered a new way of governing still have to teach us? Most important, what lessons can we learn from Reagan's fall? Was he a victim of an out-of-control NSC staff? Has he suffered from bad political advice and the wrong chief of staff? Is age simply catching up with him and dulling his once-sharp political judgment? Or has this most favored of presidents simply been suffering recently from a run of bad luck?

Before his presidency was overwhelmed by the Iran arms scandal and its offshoots, Reagan appeared to have discovered a secret of leadership that had eluded his White House predecessors. Three

of four Americans approved of the job they thought Reagan was doing as president, and even some of his harshest policy critics extolled his style. After Reagan was reelected in a 49-state landslide in 1984, House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill said to him, "In my 50 years of public life, I've never seen a man more popular than you are with the American people."

The popularity seemed unassailable and Reagan exempt from the laws of political gravity. Reagan periodically misstated facts at news conferences, forgot the names of trusted aides and Cabinet officers and explained some of his most cherished policies in private meetings by reading off 3-by-5 cards. Nothing seemed to touch him, an observation codified in the phrase "Teflon president," which described the Reagan phenomenon without explaining it.

Politicians and journalists alike were frustrated by the love affair between Reagan and the American people. They asked one another how a president who knew so little could be valued so highly. Columnist Edwin M. Yoder Jr. expressed the feelings of many of his peers when he confessed early in 1984 that it was "a mystery" to him how "this nice, euphoric, uninstructed, rather dogmatic gentleman should now be a huge success in the presidency."

Reagan's knowledge of foreign affairs was particularly sketchy, as Reagan's longtime California advisers recognized. When one of these advisers, William F. Clark, became national security adviser in 1982, he demonstrated his understanding of Reagan's learning habits by showing him government movies about world trouble spots.

Reagan also watched movies during his weekends at Camp David and learned from them, after a fashion. In 1983, he amused and encouraged a group of pro-army congressional men who met with him at the White House by interrupting a serious discussion with praise for "War Games," an anti-war film about how a high school computer wizard taps into a national defense computer system and nearly triggers a nuclear war.

No one seemed to care that Reagan knew so little. The Jimmy Carter crowd, still seeking to blame the rejection of their leader on something other than Carter, contended that the media had gone soft on Reagan. But as the list of Reagan's published inanities grew, so did his standing in the polls. Surveys taken for the White House found that many Americans agreed that Reagan was ill-informed, disagreed with a number of his policies, but nonetheless approved of the job he was doing as president.

Americans were forgiving of Reagan's perceived shortcomings because his policies seemed to work. Inflation had slowed dramatically, and for most Americans, times were relatively good. No Americans were involved in a shooting war. Most of all, Americans desperately wanted — as Tip O'Neill had pointed out soon after Reagan's election — a president who would succeed, after a recent history of assassination, resignation and failure.

Even when Reagan committed gaffes of international proportions, he seemed immune from account-

ability. On Aug. 11, 1984, while doing a sound check for his weekly radio speech from a makeshift studio at his California ranch, Reagan said, "My fellow Americans, I am pleased to tell you I have signed legislation to outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes." Soviet commentators used the incident to portray Reagan as a warmonger, and Democrats cited it as an example of his irresponsibility. Reagan brushed off what might have been a monumental embarrassment for any other president by saying that the media should never have reported it.

Six weeks after this incident, Washington Post national political correspondent David S. Broder was interviewing prospective voters in the 1984 political campaign in Detroit. Among those he interviewed was a 25-year-old man who believed that Reagan "sides with the special interests" while his opponent, Walter F. Mondale, "sides with the average citizen."

The young man's companion, a 23-year-old Michigan State University student, agreed and said she also believed that Mondale was "more likely to keep the United States out of war."

The surprise part of the interview was that both of these young Americans were voting for Reagan.

Millions of traditionally Democratic working people and young people also deserted their party to vote for Reagan, after a campaign that was a triumph of symbolism. Reagan avoided the press, staggered through two debates with Mondale and raised no issues. While Mondale talked about raising taxes, Reagan wrapped himself in the flag and encouraged voters to identify him with America.

The identification seemed natural enough to those who heard the president's soaring, empty, symbolic speeches. "We want to talk about the present and the future, about what Americans are doing together, and what we must continue to do to make America great again and let the eagle soar," Reagan said in one of his opening campaign speeches on Sept. 3, 1984.

Americans accepted the "bright, ideal America" that Reagan carried in his mind in part because he shared with them the credit for achieving it. Reagan had a wonderful trick of taking what people assumed to be his own strengths and attributing them to his audience. "We've come a long way since those days of malaise," he would say, giving his audiences credit for the tax cuts and military spending increases that were the principal legislative products of the Reagan years. The president rarely mentioned the \$2 trillion deficit that was a byproduct of these achievements.

In person Reagan was modest, gentle, unassuming. "Unlike a number of his predecessors who... craved the presidency in order to be something, Reagan ran for president in order to do something." His sense of self-worth does not hinge on his riding on Air Force One.

Nor did Reagan take for granted the unusual bond he had forged

with Americans during five decades of acting, broadcasting and campaigning. He seemed to understand the secret of his strength. On the eve of the 1980 election, when a reporter asked what it was that Americans saw in him, Reagan replied, "Would you laugh if I told you that I think, maybe, they see themselves and that I'm one of them? I've never been able to detach myself or think that I, somehow, am apart from them."

Presidential historian Richard Neustadt believes that it was the combination of Reagan's reassuring optimism, self-deprecating qualities and ability to strike the right note in ceremonial speeches that made him appealing to Americans. "I think we underestimate how much Americans want their president to be presidential," says Neustadt. "People are still hungry for a king... It wasn't the legislative achievements of the first New Deal that established Roosevelt, it was the psychological turnaround. And Reagan is very Rooseveltian in this sense."

But Neustadt also realizes, unlike Reagan, that there is no magic secret to governing. While he believes that Reagan's first-term political team would have saved him from the Iran scandal, Neustadt also says, "I always knew there was a price to pay for his style of management... I just didn't know what it was."

Because Reagan understood symbolic realities so well, it seems surprising that he miscalculated the impact of the secret arms deal on American public opinion. "But there are those who believe that the symbolic collapse was the inevitable result of growing policy gridlock and Reagan's frustration at his lack of success in freeing American hostages held by groups he had described as 'terrorists.'"

In addition, a number of administration officials believe that Reagan's revolving door of national security advisers — now up to five in less than six years — and an NSC staff weakened by ideology and infighting was a disaster waiting to happen.

In the political community, the conventional wisdom is that Reagan's fall flowed inevitably from the substitution of businessman Donald T. Regan for politician James A. Baker III as White House chief of staff. Richard Darman, widely considered Reagan's brightest policy adviser, left for Treasury with Baker. Five months later, in May 1985, Reagan's friend and longtime public relations specialist Michael K. Deaver left the White House staff and Reagan was left without a seasoned political adviser at close hand.

"There has always been this lights, camera, action quality about Reagan," says a longtime adviser. "He played a role and counted on others for the political expertise as, in Hollywood, he had counted on others for direction. His role was to sell his programs. After Baker and Deaver left, the president was surrounded by businessmen and military men who were used to giving orders and having others follow them. They didn't give orders to the commander in chief, but they did prevent others from advising him."

Others say — usually in whispered voices — that Reagan is slipping. At 75, he fires more easily and asks even fewer ques-

tions of aides than he did three or four years ago. His hearing has declined. He still gets himself up for the big ceremonial performances, as he did on Liberty Weekend, but he is said to be increasingly preoccupied and under strain. "He always enjoyed being president," says a friend. "I don't think he finds it fun anymore."

A case also can be made that the Reagan administration was out of gas even before the arms deal was disclosed. Selling arms to the Ayatollah was a symbolic disaster, but there are diplomats within the administration who believe that Reagan's confused summit with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Reykjavik, Iceland, was a greater policy failure. In a confused discussion with Gorbachev which he has since summarized in conflicting ways, Reagan almost casually proposed the elimination of all ballistic nuclear missiles — undercutting U.S. allies in Britain and West Germany. The Thatcher government may yet be a casualty of Reagan's excursion into an unprepared summit with Gorbachev — something that Reagan had promised he would never do.

"Reagan got away with Reykjavik in the sense that he was able to present it to the American people as a success," says an administration official. "For the president to be consistent symbolism, even if dubious policy. What could be more American than saying, 'Let's settle our differences by talking... by riding the world of these terrible weapons.'"

Even without the Iran-contra scandal, however, there is concern within the administration and among U.S. allies that Reykjavik may have been the end of Reagan's arms control efforts, rather than a beginning.

On domestic issues, except for the possibility of enacting a program of catastrophic health insurance, there is even less optimism within the administration. A recent list of tepid initiatives compiled by Regan and announced by the president devotes a single line to deficit reduction. Such yawners as budget reform, world climate control and a North American patent office are other items on the list. These days of what used to be called "the Reagan revolution."

That "revolution" ended on Election Day 1986 when Republicans lost the Senate after Reagan's personal campaigning failed to save weak GOP candidates in a number of key western and southern states. It was an event said to have shocked First Lady Nancy Reagan, who had been told that her husband's strenuous campaigning could save the Senate for his party.

On that same day, Nov. 3, the first revelations appeared in American newspapers of the secret visit to Iran of former national security adviser Robert C. McFarlane and Lt. Col. Oliver L. North. It was the first of many disclosures that signified the dark symbolic end of a Reagan presidency that less than six months ago was bathed in the glow of Lady Liberty's light.

Lou Cannon, White House correspondent for The Washington Post, has written two books about Ronald Reagan and is researching a third on his presidency.

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The Reagan Presidency Is Disintegrating

THE ARGUMENT about whether the Iranian affair is comparable to Watergate is at best a diversion and at worst a trap. It is a trap because the analogy is false and may even induce a kind of complacency since it would suggest that the current troubles of the administration are in a relatively early stage — the equivalent, say, of March 21, 1973 — and that there is much time for the thing yet to play out. But there isn't time. The most interesting — and distinctive and alarming — fact about this crisis is that it has reached so advanced a state so quickly.

It is hard to remember a time, except for the very last days of the Nixon presidency, when the uppermost reaches of a government were in such disarray. Yes, we know: "disarray" is one of those newspaper words, used often enough to disparage a situation that we in the press helped to create. But that is not the case here. The word is apt. The president and the vice president, the White House chief of staff and other staff members, the affected Cabinet members and presidential counselors and intimates seem not to represent any kind of a whole at all, any entity, any "we" (as in, "this is what we have to do now"). They evidently do not share the same interpretation, or in some critical cases even similar interpretations, of what happened, of whether it was right or wrong, of what should come next. There is much high-level knife-work. There is much debilitating anxiety and uncertainty. Life rafts are being readied.

Leaving aside for the moment his own ultimate responsibility for what goes on in his administration, the president has been badly served from the first in all this. He has been sent out to speak with factually false material, provided him by briefers who evidently were so busy trying to make their own case to him that they didn't have time to worry about the case he was going to make to the public. He has been given rotten advice, and he has been cynophantically encouraged in his impulse to believe the thing is overblown and will go away. His advisers have not been brave or unopinioned or skeptical enough. The president has been defending them — defending some of the people who have done him the most harm. They should have been defending him.

The people we are referring to here are not those currently being called "disloyal" by some at the White House. It is one of the ironies of this whole awful drama that an argument is raging over loyalty to the president, but that the very concept of loyalty and its obligations has been inverted so that those who are trying merely to ingratiate themselves with the president are said to be loyal, while those who believe the error of the policy must be acknowledged and repaired are castigated as disloyal. The ones who got him in this trouble, who exceeded their instructions, who used idiotic judgment, who now refuse to talk and/or refuse to leave are the "loyal" ones under this construction. The ones who dare to say no are renegades.

Two things are desperately needed. One is as full an account as can possibly be produced of this affair, from start to finish. The other is the restoration of the president's political authority, within his government and in relation to the country and the world. Only he can manage this. It will begin with credible evidence that he understands the magnitude of the error and that he intends to rectify it. He needs to be seen taking charge of his government. He needs a White House chief of staff who does not have a personal interest that is at odds with his own. He needs to work with such a person to establish some degree of common purpose and mutual respect within the top ranks of his government. It is lacking now.

Ronald Reagan's government is coming apart, and he is the only one who can put it back together. Blaming the press, the political opposition, the people in government who had the wit to oppose the disastrous course will not do him any good. If he wants to take it out on them he should save the pleasure for later. Right now he has more urgent things to do.

Richard Cohen

ON APRIL 14, U.S. warplanes bombed Libya, killed 37 persons, among them a 16-month-old girl named Hana, reportedly Moammar Gadhafi's adopted daughter. The attack was in reprisal for the bombing days earlier of a West German discotheque frequented by U.S. servicemen. One was killed.

Following the disco bombing, Bob Woodward of the Washington Post reported what the President had alluded to: The United States had intercepted messages from the Libyan Embassy in East Germany telling Libyan authorities that they "will be very happy when you see the headlines tomorrow." Case closed.

But is it? At the time, President Reagan seemed to personally the American rage at Gadhafi. The Libyan leader had exulted in the deaths of innocents in massacres at the Rome and Vienna airports and had reportedly financed several terrorist operations. The administration's case seemed convincing and its reprisal, really an act of war, seemed above moral reproach. Few quibbled when the President called Gadhafi the "mad dog of the Middle East."

Since the spring, though, much has changed. Libya, no matter

what its sins, seems almost inconsequential compared to the real thugs of the Middle East. In two separate trials — one in London, the other in West Berlin — Syria was implicated in two terrorist incidents. The first was the attempt to place a bomb on an El Al plane heading to Israel by way of London. The second was the bombing of the German-Arab Friendship Society in Berlin that injured 14 persons. No mention of Libya was made at either trial.

The American people now know, also, that some of the case against Libya consisted of "disinformation" leaked by the administration and unwittingly published by the press. We know, too, that it was not Libya that controlled the fate of American hostages in Lebanon, but Iran. We were also told in a report by the Miami Herald, that U.S. officials held Iran responsible for the bombing of both the Marine barracks and the U.S. Embassy in Beirut. In both incidents, the loss of life was horrendous.

Cynicism is the rust of democracy. One of the truly awful implications of the current Iran/contras scandal is that we can not believe our own government. The list of lies — and they are that — is getting longer and longer, and foremost among them was the repeated declaration that the United States would never pay ransom for hostages. We did just that and did it repeatedly.

Another lie was that if the administration has weakened the fibre of the very democracy it was trying to protect.

United States possessed hard information that other countries were engaged in terrorism, they would get a dose of what Libya got. "We have made it plain that if we have the same kind of irrefutable evidence with regard to other countries, they'll be subject to the same treatment," the President said on May 7. The information linking Iran to the kidnappers of American hostages was so irrefutable that we traded arms for their release.

When it comes to information — irrefutable or otherwise — I have none to contradict what the President said following the bombing of Libya. But as one who approved of that raid, I have the sinking

HONG KONG — The British Empire has buried one of its last chieftains in a classically imperial way, far from home, to the beat of muffled drums and the sound of dirges.

Sir Edward Youde, GCMG, GVO, MBE, the kindly, self-effacing Welshman who until his sudden death in Peking had enjoyed the title of His Excellency the 38th Governor of the Crown Colony of Hong Kong, was borne up the nave of the Cathedral Church of St. John here by 10 soldiers from the Coldstream Guards.

No matter that the old church to which he had been taken is now all but hidden among the gleaming skyscrapers of the new Hong Kong; at the funeral, all the old and venerable props of empire were on show, perhaps for the very last time. There were judges in their scarlet robes, there were soldiers and sailors with plumes and sashes and swords, there were medals and decorations and anthems and slow-marches and two 17-gun salutes.

"We British do these things so well," someone said from the pew behind.

"Perhaps funerals are all we're any good at," her companion glumly replied.

Hong Kong has reason enough to feel grim these days, and not only because 6 million subjects have suddenly lost their British governor. For one thing, the superstitious, and those who follow the Chinese geomancy known as feng shui, are making much of the circumstances of Sir Edward's passing.

He was the first governor ever to die in office. He died up in Peking, which many still think of as the enemy capital. He died while he was on Hong Kong business — indeed, it looks as though he died from the very rigors of that business. And he died on the unpropitious fourth of the month — the Cantonese sound for the number four being homophonic with the Cantonese word for death. Very bad feng shui, the magic men say, with consequent ill luck to come.

But the governor's passing and the potency of the astrological consequences of his having done so are not the only causes of the present peculiar colonial distem-

per. Even when the black crepe has gone and the union flag is back at full staff over Government House, perhaps even when a new governor has taken over — even then the colony looks likely to continue to suffer this curiously rudderless, oddly abandoned feeling.

No one can pinpoint exactly when it started. It has been growing, old hands say, during this past year, ever since Margaret Thatcher went to Peking and signed the colony away, agreeing to hand it back, as had been promised, to the communist Chinese. There are just 10 more British years left, and everyone here is counting.

It is unfashionable, and unwise, to be publicly pessimistic. On the surface, all looks well. "Never been better, old boy," they'll tell you in a dozen board rooms. Most com-

By Simon Winchester
Special to
The Washington Post

pany profits are nicely up. Property prices are healthy. The discotheques are full, the Beaujolais nouveau is in the shops, the Rollei-Royce distributors are about to sell their 700th car (there are only 14 rickshaws). On the surface, Hong Kong is very much the Georgetown of South China, the epicenter of upward mobility in a very upwardly mobile region.

But privately, and beneath the surface, it is not difficult to confront the malaise.

People talk more openly now about leaving, going off to get new passports, getting their money out to safer lands. The lines at the American and Canadian and Australian consulates are depressingly long. Fiji and Belize have their passports on offer, for a small sum in folding money. People are not wondering whether they should go, but when, and which is the year when it's all going to go wrong.

An Indian friend, a multi-millionaire, explained the other day how he was selling one of his properties and putting the cash into short-term investment, "and then taking everything out by 1992." The head of one of the larger financial institutions here said most of his money was already

A Funeral In Hong Kong

in Switzerland, or in diamonds ready to go.

There is a very distinct feeling here that we are all standing on a bridge that may be about to collapse. No one wants to start a stampede, because then it very definitely will collapse. No one wants to be seen to be trying to get off, because that would start a stampede. So people are sitting quietly, edging away, and hoping that no one will notice them.

Sometimes the signs are more obvious than this. A survey of investors' likely confidence 10 years from now — though how can they tell? Skeptics aid with scorn — places Hong Kong somewhere near the bottom of the list. Another foreign bank moved its operations out of the colony week before last. One of the British firms that helped found the place reorganized itself, and, by dint of some adroit accountancy, took some of itself to the more evidently stable — and still British — climes of Bermuda. And now there's one even odder whisper.

Some of the Shanghaiese here — and it is well to remember that many of the really smart businessmen in Hong Kong are refugees from Shanghai — also say they are considering leaving Hong Kong, not to go to San Francisco or Sydney, but to return to Shanghai. They say that with China changing so fast, a rich man can easily manipulate the system to his own advantage, and stay rich. If that's true, they say to themselves, then why not go home?

I was in Shanghai recently, and confess I did not manage to find a refuge from down south. But these colleagues here say they are these and that others are reading themselves to come.

It would be idle and profitless to suggest that Hong Kong is falling apart. It isn't — far from it. But it would be equally idle to deny that there is a strange smell about the place, an uneasiness. The feeling has been compounded, no doubt, by Sir Edward's funeral, and by the sad rituals of farewell. For the colonials here know that Britain itself will be saying farewell soon, and some of the more glum types realize that the ceremony up at St. John's Cathedral, magnificent as it was melancholy, was only an unexpected practice run for the final goodbye 10 years from now.

Did They Lie About Libya, Too?

feeling that I was in some sense taken — that the administration arbitrarily substituted Libya for Iran when, following the hijacking of a TWA flight to Beirut, it realized that Tehran and not Tripoli was the real paymaster of Middle East terrorists.

Maybe we bombed Libya because it, almost alone among terrorist nations, was not holding American hostages. Or maybe Gadhafi has a daughter because we were attempting to send a message not to him — but to the Ayatollah: In violation of our own laws, we might try to assassinate a foreign leader.

I don't know. I do know that I no longer have the confidence in our government I once had. And I have to tell you that I had to ask Woodward, an extremely careful and savvy reporter, if his story about the Berlin to Tripoli intercepts was not itself the rotten fruit of a disinformation campaign. He did not think so. He said he had confidence in his sources, but acknowledged that the Iran disclosures had to raise some doubts. No one has the same confidence in administration statements they once had.

Cynicism — not any foreign-

policy setback — may well be the worst consequence of the current scandal. By playing cute with the American people, by saying one thing and doing another and by using "disinformation," the Reagan administration has weakened the fiber of the very democracy it was trying to protect. On April 14, the United States killed a child named Hana. Once I thought the bombing that caused her death was justified. Now I am not so sure. Are you?

William Raspberry adds: A New York Times/CBS Poll finds that nearly half the people think Ronald Reagan is lying. We're not talking impressions of "misrepresentation" or some perceived failure to tell the "whole truth." No, the question was whether the people thought the President was "telling the truth" or "lying" when he said he hadn't known that money from the Iranian arms sale was going to the contras.

Forty-seven percent of the respondents said they thought he was "lying." Furthermore, 51 percent said the "worst" aspect of the whole "contragate" affair is the administration's handling of the facts.

Goya: Mystery And Mastery

By Paul Richard

HIS eyes are black, his face is round, his body is compact. Polished silver twinkles on the table by his easel. Goya, who was humbly born but changed his name to hide the fact, loved golden coins and jewels, all the shiny signs of wealth. His confessional self-portrait shows an artist on the make.

Two hundred years ago, just before he painted it, he sent a note of triumph to a loyal boyhood friend. "Martín mió," crowed the artist, "yo soy Pintor del Rey con quince mil reales!" ("Martin boy, now I'm King's Painter with a yearly salary of 15,000 reales!")

These are Goya days in Washington. "Goya" — Gian Carlo Menotti's opera — received its world premiere at the Kennedy Center, and to celebrate its opening two Washington museums, the Corcoran and National Galleries, have mounted Goya shows.

The master was still climbing when he painted the self-portrait now on exhibition at the National Gallery of Art. His cockiness is clear. His *machismo* is apparent. He wears the short embroidered jacket, the slippers and the tights, of a Spanish *majo*, a sort of 18th-century urban cowboy. It is the sort of costume strutting bullfighters still wear — except for the odd hat.

He had it made of metal so that it would not burn when, painting after sunset, he set candles on his brim.

Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (the *de*, an affection, implied ties to the nobility that were tenuous at best) was born, a glider's son, on March 30, 1746 in Aragon, in Spain. He died an exile in France in 1828. He was two artists in one.

While the public Goya painted gracious, formal portraits of the highborn and the rich, another sort of master was developing within him. This second, private Goya cared nothing for the brilliant chatter of the court. Instead he hewed his visions out of silence and the dark. No painter of his era was as attuned as he was to the shivering shadows, the witches and the truths and the horrors of the night.

"Goya: Selected Prints From the Collection of the Arthur Ross Foundation," a show of more than 60 lithographs and etchings, is at the Corcoran Gallery of Art. "Goya: The Condessa de Chinchón and Other Paintings, Drawings and Prints From Spanish and American Private Collections and the National Gallery of Art" is at the gallery's West Building. Together these exhibits, they rarely overlap, suggest the strange range of his art.



Señora Sabana Garcia

The Menotti opera hymns his legend and his supposed love life. His often bitter pictures tell vastly more about his despair and disgust, his nightmares and his hates. He lived through times of slaughter, famine and repression. He saw the armies of Napoleon battle throughout Spain. And from his nearly fatal breakdown in 1792 until his death in 1828, the painter of whom Plácido Domingo sings was completely deaf.

Goya was near 50, and had already lost his hearing, when he first met the Duchess of Alba, the opera's other star. He first painted her portrait in 1795. What she thought of the deaf painter is a matter of conjecture. That he fell for her is clear.

She was willful and eccentric, passionate, demanding. She ringed herself with actors, bullfighters and painters. She affected *maja* styles — and, in fact, may well have posed for Goya's famous portraits in the Prado of the "Maja Nude" and the "Maja Clothed." Her lasciviousness is not in doubt. Every hair of her head excited desire, a French traveler reported. Goya, for a while — but only for a while — fell under her spell.

"He gave her," writes historian Gwyn A. Williams, "his most harrowing self-portrait, and in his house kept the magnificent portrait of her he painted under the Andalusian sun, in her black *maja* dress, wearing two rings inscribed *Alba* and *Goya*, and pointing to her feet where are traced the words *Solo Goya* (later carefully overpainted by him)." Like that declaration, his love was writ in sand.

One 1799 etching from Goya's *Caprichos* ("Caprices") attacks her without mercy. It shows her flying through the air, as inconstant as a butterfly, as unholy as a witch, with "an escort," notes Williams, "of literally haggard bullfighters." The painter's angers and affections wrestle in his art.

Goya's *Los Desastres de la Guerra* ("The Disasters of War") of 1810-20 — selected etchings from that series are on view at both museums — condemn man's inhumanity with a fervor rarely equaled in the history of art. And yet he portrayed atrocities with a kind of fascination. Pain and blood and violence did not entirely upset him; he once said he liked hunting better than painting. That he loved the bullfight, too, is abundantly apparent in the *La Tauromaquia* etchings on the history of the sport, which he published in 1818.

By the standards of his Spain, Goya was a liberal. He scorned the Inquisition, reactionary government and the oppressive Spanish church. One of his most famous *Caprichos*,



Goya's self-portrait

on view at the Corcoran, is called "The sleep of reason produces monsters." Yet monsters of all sorts — men that have two heads, cultures large as oxen, demons, devils, giants — write in Goya's art.

The sweep of his emotions still takes the breath away. It is not just the briskness of his brush and the assurance of his line that make his late work seem so modern. It is his ability to show us all the fighting feelings in his conflicted heart.

Scholar Andrew Robison chose the splendid drawings in the National Gallery's exhibit. Together they suggest that Goya somehow skipped the 19th century. His early formal portraits are 18th-century pictures. His last works speak directly to the 20th-century soul.

Goya, like Velázquez, was a portraitist to royalty. Goya, like Picasso, another black-eyed master who liked to paint at night, was passionate, political, confessional, rebellious. All three of these great painters were Spanish to the core. Yet Goya was, at first, enormously attracted to the French.

He admired French enlightenment, French scholarship and liberty, the France of revolution, fraternity, equality, Voltaire and Rousseau. His native Spain, in contrast, seemed superstitious, backward, priest-ridden and slothful.

Goya also liked French elegance. One sees that in his early work. The marquesa de Pontejos, in the National Gallery's large portrait of 1786, wears Parisian ribbons on her dress. In their disdainful anticlericism, in their haughty superciliousness, the gibes in the *Caprichos* also feel part French.

Goya, though he worked at court, was no impassioned monarchist. In his portraits, at the National Gallery of the king and queen of Spain, King Charles IV looks pompous, Queen Maria Louisa ugly. You would think that he would flatter the royals who employed him. Instead, both of them look stupid. One can only wonder how Goya got away with it.

One drawing at the National Gallery, from Ian Woodner's collection, is the first Goya made in which human beings wear masks. He always looked beyond the faces people wear.

He would not hide his sympathies. When he painted those he cared for — among

them the unfortunate and lovely condessa Chinchón — he did so with great politeness. He painted her as a child first. Later, Manuel Godoy, the prime minister of Spain — and the lover of the queen — whom the young condessa was forced to wed again, National Gallery's exhibit.) When he portrayed those he hated — for instance the duke of San Carlos, with his drooping eyelids and half-open mouth — he would not conceal his scorn.

It is Goya's awesome honesty, his insistence that the truth be told, that gives his scenes of warfare their extraordinary timelessness.

Although he depicted torturings and rapes, massacres, dismemberments, famines and garrotings and stomach-churning scenes of corpses spitted upon trees, he looked beyond the uniform. Napoleon's soldiers in his pictures, even when they rape and kill, are never shown as monstrous. Continued overleaf



One of the "Caprichos"

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By George MacDonald Fraser

On A Mission To Camelot

By Joanne Omang

Joanne Omang, a foreign policy reporter for The Washington Post, was a Peace Corps volunteer in Turkey from 1964 to 1966.

By Ralph Whitlock

Far more serious and obscure than other favourite at tradition

By David Fairhall

Money still oils wheels of Opec caravan

None of which is a laughing matter for an organisation which even before the start of what already another lengthy meeting

ings cost four times as much as they were held at Opec's headquarters and almost three times as much as if they were held in a Vienna hotel.

Cruise crew: First-lieutenant Dawn Hewitt and her station commander at Greenham, Colonel John Bachs, with a cruise missile launcher. — Picture: Graham Turner.

creasingly counterproductive, combined with the political judgment — shared by Mrs Thatcher and her Defence Secretary, Mr George Younger — that a positive pro-nuclear policy will win votes at the next general election provided arms control negotiations are seen to be producing positive results.

With the orders would come weapons-release codes, some of which must be simultaneously punched into the computer by both launch officers, and targeting data that he would use but not understand.

Finally, a simple message would flash up on the screen in front of him "Recommend execute." If he was satisfied the computer knew what it was doing, he would follow that recommendation by pressing the small green button on the left of the console.

By John Hooper in Geneva

But Opoc still cannot quite break itself of habits born in its heyday. At the last conference Open officials gave away £3,146 in "gratuities for hotel staff". They also threw a party for the press in which the centrepiece was a gigantic chocolate confection in the form of an oil derrick.

The records show that within the space of three hours the journalists, together with the analysts, traders and other handlers on who succeeded in wangling themselves a press pass, managed to set Opec back £3,824. Then they ate the chocolate oil rig.

Goya: Mystery And Mastery

Continued from page 16

These prints are his most private, fantastic and unnerving. In some ways they restate the themes of the *Caprichos*, but with vastly greater power. One of the "Caprices," a savage yet amusing comment

Daring is not the word for it. Martincho decided to kill the bull without any of the usual protections. Its thick neck was not weakened by picks and banderillas, and Martincho did not deign to use a cape (instead he waved his hat), and he did not dance. In fact, he sat upon a chair in the middle of the ring with his feet bound by iron fetters. He tried the feat but once. That seems more than enough.

Another drawing at the gallery will linger even longer in the viewer's memory. It, too, is from his last years. It shows an old, decrepit man, smiling with delight, swinging on a swing as if he were some oversweet young swain out of Fragonard or Watteau. Somewhere in all of Goya's art, despite its violence and its darkness — in the fervor of his brush, in his hunger for the seen — is an undertone of *glee*.

The National Gallery's exhibit will remain on view through January 4. The print show at the Corcoran, thoughtfully selected by Ed Nygren, who wrote its accompanying catalogue, will close January 25.

The Spanish captain's story

LETTERS
Translated and
introduced by
J. H. Elliott (Yale,
£27.50).

HERNAN CORTES, the conqueror of Mexico, was seven years old when Columbus set foot in the New World. He came from a modest family in a modest town of barren Extremadura. At nineteen, he left home for the Indies. His Spanish inheritance was a vine and a beehive. In the New World, he conquered an empire nine times the size of Spain.

The letters sent by Cortes to Emperor Charles V between 1519 and 1526, in Anthony Pagden's definitive translation, tell the tale of this conquest with self-serving vigour, a dash of mythologising, and a subtle sense of legitimisation. It all adds up to one of the most fascinating Machiavellian documents to come out of the Renaissance.

Machiavelli wrote The Prince in 1513, but it was only published after his death, in 1532. Cortes could not have read Machiavelli. But, as these letters prove, he was the best living proof that the Machiavellian idea was in the air of the sixteenth century.

A product of the enormous energy and movement of the Spanish war of Reconquest against the Moors, Cortes and his brethren represented the new man of an incipient middle class first liberated from feudalism by the shifting frontiers of the wars, the Christian repopulation of reconquered zones, and the rise of cities and towns rewarded with a modicum of municipal freedoms.

These events then prepared them to rise from anonymity to the challenge of the Renaissance enterprise of power as envisioned by Machiavelli. Power is truly deserved by those who by their courage and ability, and not by fortune or inheritance, are able to conquer it. Now everyone, if they know how to manipulate will and fortune, can be the Prince, instead of serving him.

Re-reading Pagden's translation, I am again struck by the democratic essence of Machiavellianism as acted out by men such as Cortes in the New World. Cortes writes to the King in order to put his conquests at the royal feet, but at the same time he is telling an

extraordinary tale of how to acquire power in unprecedented, uncharted circumstances.

Akin to the models offered by Machiavelli, "little or nothing" in the life and enterprises of Cortes "can be attributed to fortune". As Machiavelli says of Agathocles, who rose to be king of Sicily, Cortes also "... achieved sovereignty, not by the favour of any one (but) by a thousand efforts and dangers," and he maintained it "with great courage and a great temerity".

Cortes came to Mexico, furthermore, as a "prophet armed". The Indians could hardly resist musket, cannon, and monstrous four-legged beasts. Even less could a culture based upon myth resist an invader who arrived in precise synchronisation with the announced return of the blond, bearded god Quetzalcoatl, the Plumed Serpent.

But Cortes did not know that he was, nor did he want to be, a prophet, much less a God. He wished to be what his ancestors could never have been: a prince, at least an *hidalgo*. To do this, he had to fight on three fronts: against the governor of Cuba, Velazquez, who had denied him the right to conquer and settle; against Montezuma, the Aztec emperor, who held sway over a vast and ominous land and its powerful armies; and against his own king, Charles V, who should be made to feel that these conquests were made in his name so that he would not hinder, but legitimise, Cortes's faraway actions in the New World.

Cortes defeated the authority of the governor of Cuba, by achieving success in Mexico — a highly improbable forecast when the Spanish captain destroyed his own ships in Veracruz and thus cut off his own retreat. The defeat of the Aztecs happened because Cortes employed to the hilt the combination of courage, audacity, and ability that Machiavelli called *virtu*: this prince of the New World intriques, listens, and listens above all to the very human complaints of the tribes oppressed by Montezuma.

The Spanish captain united them all in what proved to be an invincible alliance against the Indian despot: the conquest of Mexico was more than the astonishing success of an army of less than 600 Europeans who cut off their re-

lated, to be followed over the next decade by *Lifemanship*, *One-Upmanship*, and *Supermanship*. All four are now available in one indispensable paperback, marked only by a cover illustration which is not only exceptionally ugly but totally out of key with the contents of the book. To a lesser extent the same is true of Ralph Steadman's cover for the Gavin Ewart book, but we'll come to that later.

S. Potter did not invent Gamesmanship. He discovered it. He was playing tennis at the time, partnering C. Joad against younger and far better players. Having returned a sizzling service into the side-netting, Joad said to his opponent in an even tone: "Kindly say clearly, please, whether the ball was in or out."

The very slight suggestion that their sportsmanship might just possibly be in question had the desired effect of unsettling the young opponents to such an extent that they lost the match. How crude, by comparison, are the tantrums of J. McEnroe.

For the founder of the LCC (*Lifemanship Correspondence College*) Joad's unpeeled had a catalytic (I suggest OK word) effect once more in that of being falling apple on a rotten tree, the boiling kettle on a weak and mouldy chess on Fleming.

The ingenious work of Gamesmanship, or the Art of Winning Games Without Actual Cheating. This is still the standard work in the subject, and probably why it is so. It is a fault which it does not (or would not) add to concentrate too much on games as games per se, but on what they in fact are, and, of course, an extension of it.

Potter had spotted that games are (how shall I put it?) an extension of life. At the same time (or very nearly the same time) he grasped the all-important principle that life is an extension of games. And students must remind themselves that Potter was working many years before his ideas were taken up so ponderously by the US shrink E. Berne, in *Games People Play*.

There are large sections of the



Cortes with his coat of arms. Marques del Valle de Acaxoa.

the Spanish Crown; Cortes defeats Montezuma, then he is defeated by Charles V, as John H. Elliott explains in his luminous preface to the present edition.

Cortes is the Prince who never was: this tale of melancholy courage is the stuff of the Letters. It is vastly relevant to the contemporary history of Latin America: Army, Church and State are our oldest institutions and here we witness their origin. Cortes, the

not going to permit this. Once the military phase of the conquest had been concluded, Cortes was named governor, then surrounded by a cloud of intriguing royal bureaucrats, finally shunted aside, accused of sundry crimes, and left to write pathetic letters to the King, asking for money to pay his sailors, while propagandising priests such as Las Casas furthered royal authority and further undermined the power of the conquistadores.

Two dates coincide here: The fall of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital, to Cortes, in 1521, and, that same year, the defeat of the revolution of the Castilian communities at the hands of Charles V. Thinking that he has triumphed in the New World, the conquistador has just been defeated in the Old World. He wanted to be a prince in the Indies because he had never been an *hidalgo* in Spain. He should have been a citizen first, both in the Old and in the New World.

His failure became ours. The vertical autocracy of Montezuma was substituted by the vertical autocracy of the Spanish Habsburgs. We are the defendants of both verticalities, and our stubborn struggles for democracy are all the more difficult, and perhaps, even admirable.

Machiavelli's Prince was first published in Spanish translation in 1552 and then included in the *Index Prohibitorum* by Cardinal Gaspar de Quiroga in 1584. But first, the Crown had ordered, in March of 1527, that there should be no further printings of the letters of Cortes. And in 1563, yet another royal decree was to forbid the export to the Indies of all histories of the Conquest. We were not allowed to know ourselves, or instead of histories we wrote novels.

Chroniclers such as Cortes, were not only our first historians, but our first novelists. Out of their epic contradictions, new communities and finally new nations were born. Yet in Mexico there is no statue honouring Cortes: we have preferred to celebrate the defeated, forgetting that Cortes can be counted among them.

English population in which the main aim in life is to make other people feel slightly uneasy. At the same time they seek to put themselves what is technically known as One Up. One of Potter's many insights was that in putting yourself One Up when against an expert or a professional (such as, for example, your GP) ignorance is no handicap. At worst it is like playing with the black pieces at chess. Some simple plonking play soon redress the balance.

One take us at random. Some-thing about it inordinate length to know which he appears about, absolutely everything remember as you can never What are you content it's in. solution is, as do? The Lifemanship waits for, a few and daily. He then says thou in the flow and the South. This, "Except in known to fail."

One of the delphic these texts (still as of word, think, but only just to knowing acquaintance with such, great exponents of Lifemanship as Cogg-

Carlos Fuentes on the Machiavellian New Man who conquered the New World

THE GUARDIAN, December 28, 1986

CRICKET

A breezy victory

ENGLAND survived the gales of Hobart to bowl out Tasmania for 167, winning the game by an innings and 96 runs in two days of actual playing time.

In conditions that one onlooker likened to the north face of the Eiger, the England bowlers soon found the flaws in Tasmania's patchy batting in the kind of win that old-time touring teams used to have in state games.

Meanwhile the form of Ian Botham, chosen for Thursday's one-day game against the Prime Minister's XI in Canberra, remains a source of some concern.

He had an hour-long net at the weekend, but felt just enough pain from his injury while batting to prevent his stepping up the pace of his bowling as planned.

But after Canberra he is expected to play at Melbourne, unless he breaks down in the meantime.

Botham's form will have a bearing on the immediate future of DeFreitas, whose inexperience was shown up at Adelaide, and who may be dropped if it becomes clear that Botham will not play a significant role in the next test. Foster is now his main challenger.

Most of the donkey-work at Hobart was done by Gattings.

Lester Piggott bailed for £1m on tax evasion charges

By David Pallister



Lester Piggott — 88-year career

the National Westminster Bank in Newmarket.

After an adjournment the magistrates' chairman, Mr John Moore, a former bookmaker, set the £1 million deadline and a deadline of 5pm. Mr Piggott remained in police cells while efforts were made to find the money. One of the sureties was the millionaire

racehorse owner Charles St George, who was contacted by telephone in London.

The case is not expected to be heard for at least three months. Mr Piggott left the court at 8.30pm without saying anything and was driven back to his home.

In a written statement he said: "I was very disappointed to be arrested today as since February 1, 1986, my advisers and myself had spent thousands of hours getting together all the evidence that was sought by the Inland Revenue and Customs and Excise with a view to settling my affairs."

"This evidence was made available to the authorities and it would seem now to be used against me next year. I would like to thank the two friends that stood bail for me at such short notice."

In a 38-year career Lester Piggott was 11 times champion and rode 4,348 winners in England. His record of nine Derby victories and 29 classic successes, won him millions of friends, and a few enemies too.

Last year he hung up his boots and began the new life of a trainer at Newmarket. His first season was a great success, with 33 winners at home and abroad.

Arsenal show the pack a clean pair of heels

IT COULD be the kiss of death to say so, but there is an air of inevitability about the championship form of Arsenal at the moment at the top of English soccer's First Division. Others may huff and puff and worry about injuries, including the champions, Liverpool, but Arsenal remain calm and assured, thanks to consistency both of style and team members.

They entered the Christmas and New Year batch of games with a buffer of five points between themselves and the second club, Nottingham Forest, with Liverpool and city neighbours Everton sharing 35 points a further point adrift. This is after 20 games, which is roughly half the League programme and is a handsome lead by anyone's reckoning. At the weekend Arsenal looked scrappy at home to Luton Town for three-quarters of the game, anxious to please but unable to convert their mastery into goals. But from the moment Quinn put them ahead after 71 minutes the other two goals came as if by right from a side cooing confidence.

Their manager, George Graham, quite properly still refuses to talk in terms of winning the championship, well aware of the salutary example of Manchester United's failure from an even more promising position last season. But he allowed himself a cautious: "We are very pleased with what we have been doing recently."

Liverpool, meanwhile, did themselves no favours by only drawing 0-0 at Charlton Athletic, in spite of Charlton being reduced to 10 men for most of the second half. The champions are still looking to field a settled side, thanks to injuries and sickness.

Everton have had more than their fair share of those problems this season, but at the weekend welcomed back their midfield general, Peter Reid, who has played such a major part in the team's success in recent years. He has not played a first team match since beginning treatment for injuries after the World Cup in Mexico during the summer, and even at the weekend he was quietly given his first taste of serious action only as a substitute, and that only when Everton were 3-0 ahead against Wimbledon.

Nottingham Forest, meanwhile, failed for the first time this season to score at home in sharing a goalless match with Southampton. It was for Southampton a relief from the strife that has afflicted the club recently, with one player being hauled before the Football Association for allegedly bringing the game into disrepute, their England goalkeeper, Shilton, suffering a very public tiff with his wife that included the involvement of the police, although it all ended peacefully, and another player firing in a transfer request. Shilton's problems were compounded at Forest where he broke his nose in a collision.

Soccer's worries over hooligan supporters took on a new perspective last week when the non-League club, Telford United, and Leeds United, of the Second Division, were ordered to play their FA Cup third round tie at West Bromwich Albion's ground. This all arose from a decision of the police at Telford, who had won home advantage in the cup draw, that they would not be able to control the yobbo element that follows Leeds around, bringing enormous discredit to the club over the years. Twice this season these hooligans have started fires at away grounds, including at West Bromwich, who were naturally reluctant to stage the cup-tie. But faced with the police fears the FA opted to order the match at West Bromwich's ground, which is fairly close to Telford, at least aware that the police there have the numbers and experience to tackle the hooligans.

The weekend's highest gate, meanwhile, was at Glasgow Celtic, in the Scottish Premier Division, where 35,934 people contrived to avoid the last shopping Saturday before Christmas to see the 1-1 draw with Aberdeen. It cut into Celtic's lead in the division but still left them with 40 points, far ahead of Dundee United, who survived a fright at home against Hearts, when they recovered from being a goal down at half-time to win 3-1. Victory would have put Hearts into second place. Defeat means that they stay in fifth place behind Glasgow Rangers and Aberdeen.

Wigan win through

WIGAN, holders of Rugby League's John Player Trophy, won through to the final again at the weekend by beating Hull 11-10 in the first of the semifinals. In the final they will meet Warrington or Widnes. Hull had looked like providing an upset throughout the first-half thanks to some ferocious tackling and led 5-0 at the interval. But the second half belonged to Wigan's young scrum-half, Edwards, and even more dramatically the try-scoring instincts of stand-off Eilley Hanley. His first try was from a solo 30-yards run that left defenders in his wake; the second followed a drive by Edwards that ended in Hanley going over in a corner.

Another sample of the high quality of Australian Rugby

Alan Dunn's DIARY

League was experienced in England at the weekend. Only weeks after the Australian seniors inflicted a clean sweep of the Test series against Great Britain, their touring Under-19 squad won their series against Britain 2-0. They took the second match at Leeds 36-14, scoring four tries and showing vastly superior skills and power, although the British youngsters did not lack in spirit.

The crippling cost of bringing sports grounds up to the new safety standards following last season's soccer tragedies has hit at least one leading Rugby League club hard. Hull Kingston Rovers, twice champions in the past three years, have already paid one bill of £108,000 and face another of £146,000 at their ground. The annual meeting last week heard that the club may have to sell the ground to clear debts of £200,000, with losses continuing at £150,000 a year.

Concern over foreigners

RUGBY UNION in England completed at the weekend the series for the divisional championship, with North retaining the title but

everyone seemingly dissatisfied with a format that was intended partly to aid the selection process for the national team. North completed three wins with beating London 34-6, while South-west joined Midland and London on two points after losing 18-10 to the Midlands. Too many of the games in the series were devalued, however, by the lack of cooperation by some clubs and a generally negative and unimaginative approach in the games.

Meanwhile French Rugby Union administrators have expressed concern over the number of foreign players taking part in the top division of the French club championship. There are 33 South Africans and 18 New Zealanders among the 83 foreigners playing in the championship's 80 clubs. There are fears that some may be mercenaries and that they could limit the development of local talent. Attempts may be made to limit clubs to one overseas player, or to make residence in France for at least a year a qualification for playing.

Sponsors withdraw from racing

MOTOR SPORT suffered a major financial setback at the weekend when Imperial Tobacco ended their 18-year sponsorship of the John Player Special Lotus team. Imperial's chief executive, John Bloxidge, said that the enormous costs of grand prix sponsorship could not be justified. Imperial have been putting in about £3 million a year, but more was said to be demanded for next year, when Ayrton Senna will have a Japanese, Satoru Nakajima, as his second driver. Imperial were unhappy at that decision, wanting a British driver.

There are, however, always those who are willing to take on the challenges of grand prix racing. Gerard Larrousse, the former Renault and Ligier Formula-One team director, announced a new team last week for next season. They will use a Lola chassis fitted with the new 3.5 litre non-turbo-charged Cosworth DFZ V8 engine. Philippe Alliot will drive the first car in its debut in the San Marino Grand Prix, and a second car may run later.

The sport lost one of its key figures last week when Jean Marie Balestre retired after eight years as president of the ruling International Federation of Automobile Sports. He said that he was going because of a "lying and defamatory" campaign against him. FISA are facing a £3 million lawsuit brought by Peugeot over the decision to ban the current Group B cars from world championship rallying next season.

As anticipated Juha Kankkunen was named world rally champion last week when FISA ruled the San Remo rally in October null and void. It had been won by Markku Alen, who believed that he had become world champion when he went on to take the last event, the Olympus in Washington, but was thwarted by the FISA decision.

Soccer results

TODAY LEAGUE — FIRST DIVISION: Arsenal 3, Luton 0; Charlton 0, Liverpool 0; Chelsea 0, Tottenham 2; Everton 0, Wimbledon 0; Manchester United 2, Leicester 0; Nottingham Forest 0, Southampton 0; Oxford United 2, Aston Villa 2; West Ham 1, QPR 1. Friday: Watford 1, Norwich 1. Sunday: Coventry 2, Manchester City 2; Sheffield Wednesday 2, Newcastle 0. Leading positions: 1. Arsenal (P 20, Pt 41); 2. Nottingham Forest 20, 36; 3. Liverpool 22, 35.

SECOND DIVISION: Huddersfield 1, Crystal Palace 2; Portsmouth 2, Barnsley 1. Friday: Birmingham 2, Sheffield United 1; Ipswich 3, Plymouth 0; West Brom 1, Reading 2. Sunday: Brighton 3, Shrewsbury 0; Derby 4, Gillingham 0; Oxford United 2, Luton 1; Watford 2, Sunderland 3; Blackpool 0, Westport 0; Hull 0, Millwall 1. Leading positions: 1. Oxford 19, 40; 2. Portsmouth 20, 36; 3. Derby County 20, 37.

THIRD DIVISION: Southend 1, Blackpool 0; Newport 1, Rotherham 2; York 1, Fulham 1. Friday: Chesterfield 1, Carlisle 3; Port Vale 2, Gillingham 4; Bristol Rovers 1, Sunday: Brentford 0, Middlesbrough 1; Carlisle 0, Notts County 2; Doncaster 2, Scunthorpe 2; Mansfield 1, Wigan 5. Leading positions: 1. Middlesbrough 20, 41; 2. Gillingham 25, 46; 3. Notts County 20, 37.

FOURTH DIVISION: Aldershot 1, Crewe 3; Cambridge United 3, Rochdale 0; Preston 1, Orient 0; Swans 1, Colchester 2; Torquay 1, Peterborough 0. Postponed: Walsingham 0, Southend 1. Friday: Barnet 1, Cardiff 3; Hartley 2, Harford 1; Southport 3, Exeter 1; Stockport 2, Wrexham 1. Sunday: Northampton 3, Scunthorpe 1. Leading positions: 1. Northampton 20, 51; 2. Southend 19, 37; 3. Swans 20, 38.

FIVE FIVE SCOTTISH LEAGUE — PREMIER DIVISION: Celtic 1, Aberdeen 1; Dundee United 3, Hearts 1; Falkirk 1, Dundee 0. Postponed: Hamilton 0, Rangers 2; Hibernian 0, Motherwell 1; St Mirren 1, Clydebank 1. Leading positions: 1. Celtic 25, 40; 2. Dundee United 25, 35; 3. Rangers 24, 34.

FIRST DIVISION: Brechin 1, Morton 3; Dunfermline 0, Forfar 1; Dunfermline 0, Clyde 0. Postponed: East Fife 0, Arbroath 0; Kilmarnock 1, Montrose 0; Partick 0, Queen of South 0. Postponed. Leading positions: 1. Dunfermline 24, 33; 2. Dundee 20, 30; 3. Morton 25, 28.

SECOND DIVISION: Albion v Stirling; Alloa v Stirling; Cowdenbeath v Berwick 0. Postponed. Third Division: 1. Dundee 23, 41; 2. Dundee 20, 30; 3. Morton 25, 28.

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Boxer cleared of drug-taking

BOXING'S Tim Witherpoon was cleared last weekend of allegations that he had been taking drugs before he lost his world heavyweight title to James "Buncrusher" Smith last week. Jose Torres, chairman of the New York State Athletic Commission, said that there had been a clerical error in an earlier announcement that tests on Witherpoon had allegedly proved positive for marijuana. "Someone made a critical error in putting 'positive' when it should have been 'negative,'" said Torres.

Casualty on the slopes

SKIING'S World Cup champion, Marc Girardelli, became the second major casualty of the season when he dislocated his left shoulder in a fall in Yugoslavia. It was the second time he had dislocated the shoulder in three weeks and he immediately went to Switzerland for an operation. He hopes to be fit by the end of January. Last week the American, Bill Johnson, was badly injured in a downhill training fall.

HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL CYPRIOTS

The words "Human Rights" have been used so frequently that it is often forgotten that they involve the fates, the daily lives and the happiness of ordinary men and women.

The restoration and protection of the human rights of all Cypriots is an essential prerequisite for a just, viable and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem.

We believe that Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots should enjoy the basic rights to return to their homes and to live wherever they wish throughout Cyprus. There should be no segregation according to religion or language or culture. Each and every Cypriot should have the right to own property anywhere and the right to move freely across the length and breadth of our small country.

The Turkish troops who occupy 37% of Cyprus prevent 200,000 displaced Greek Cypriots from returning to their homes, the few hundred Greek Cypriots still there are being squeezed out and the properties of the displaced Greek Cypriots have been distributed to Turks. On the contrary, the homes of Turkish Cypriots in the free part of the Republic of Cyprus are still officially considered to be their own properties, but the Turkish military occupation regime which forced or lured them away from their homes does not allow them to return there.

About 60,000 settlers from the Turkish mainland have been brought to Cyprus and have been granted "political rights" by the Turkish Cypriot "authorities". Thus, in the area of Cyprus under Turkish military control there is now one mainland Turk, civilian or soldier, for every Turkish Cypriot. The people of Cyprus have the right to reject the massive imposition of foreigners on their homeland.

Turkey is preventing the investigation into the fate of the 1619 Greek Cypriots who have been missing since the Turkish invasion in 1974. Their families have the right to know whether they are alive or dead. The prolonged uncertainty about the fate of their "disappeared" is nothing less than a subtle form of cruel torture.

We claim the human right of every Cypriot to live free of the fear of foreign invasion and the suppression of foreign occupation. There are over 35,000 Turkish troops in Cyprus and recently their numbers have been increased and the quality of their armoured forces improved. Concern at this development has been expressed even by Turkey's allies. All these occupation troops should be withdrawn. They have no place in an independent Cyprus and they prevent the restoration of the human rights of its citizens.

The violations of human rights as a result of the Turkish military occupation of part of Cyprus have been authoritatively verified by impartial international organs, including the commission for human rights of the Council of Europe. This intolerable situation must not be allowed to continue. We appeal to the international community and particularly to human rights organisations to take all steps necessary to put an end to the tragedy of Cyprus.

**The Committee for the Restoration of
Human Rights throughout Cyprus**